



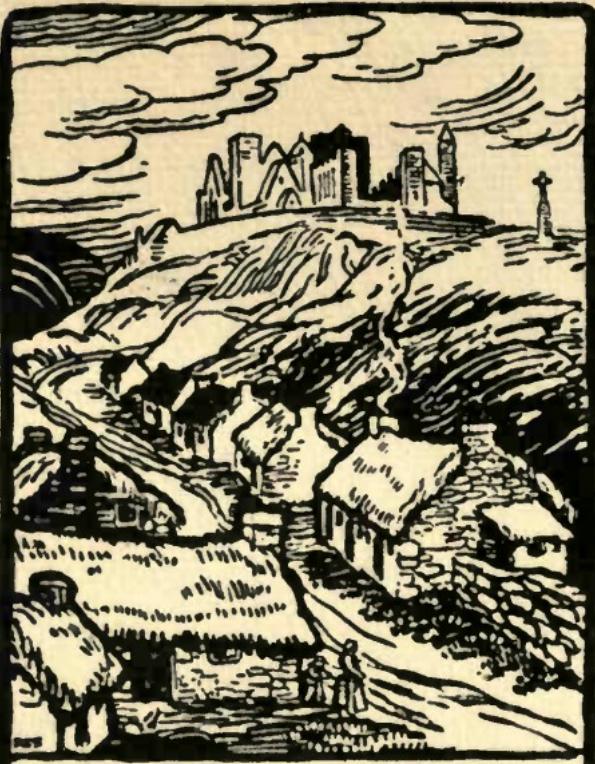
# DROMANA



The Memoirs of an Irish Family.

rnia  
al

TERESA MUIR MACKENZIE  
(TERESA WILLIAMS STEARNS)



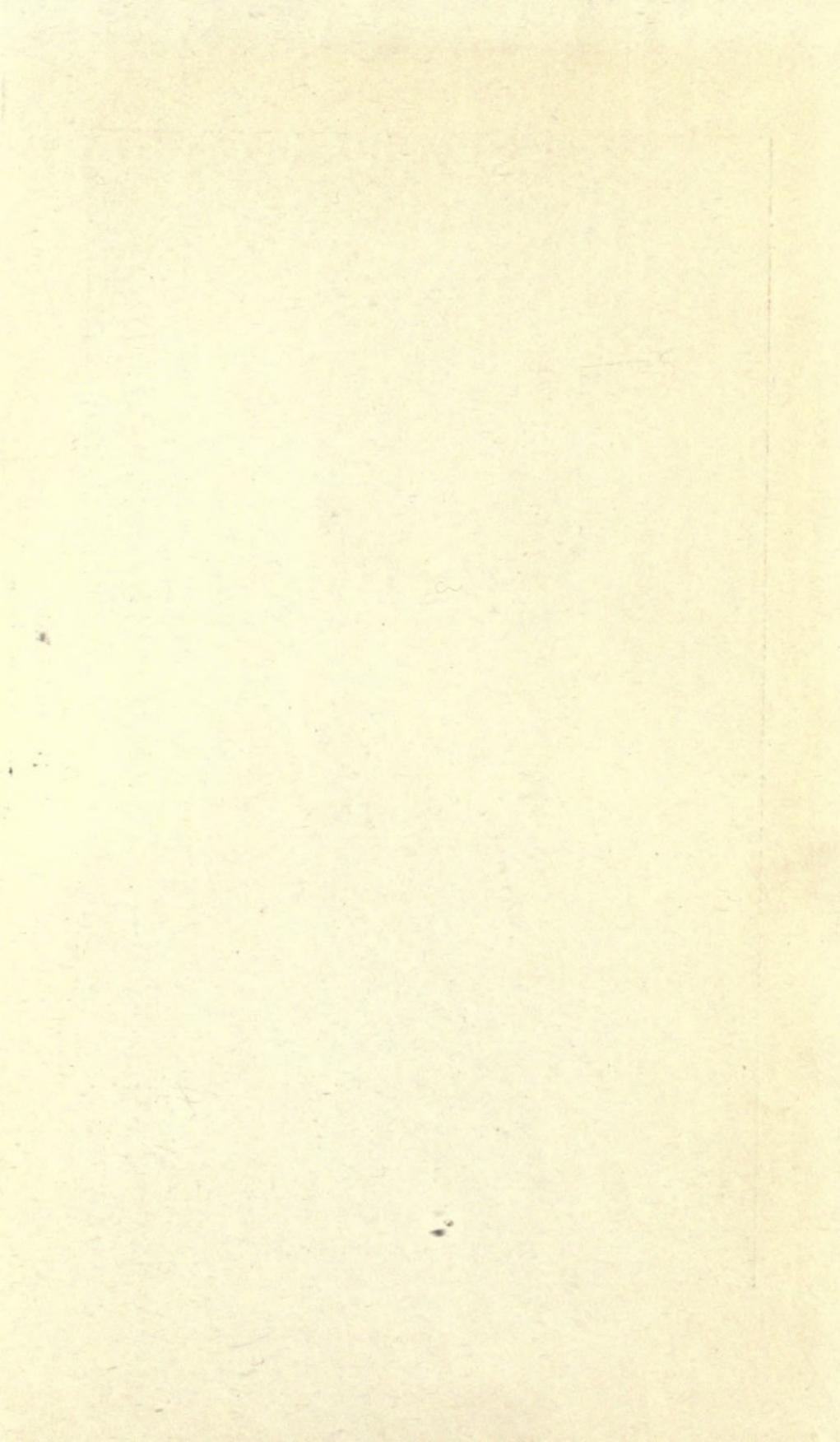
Irene Dwen Andrews



DW

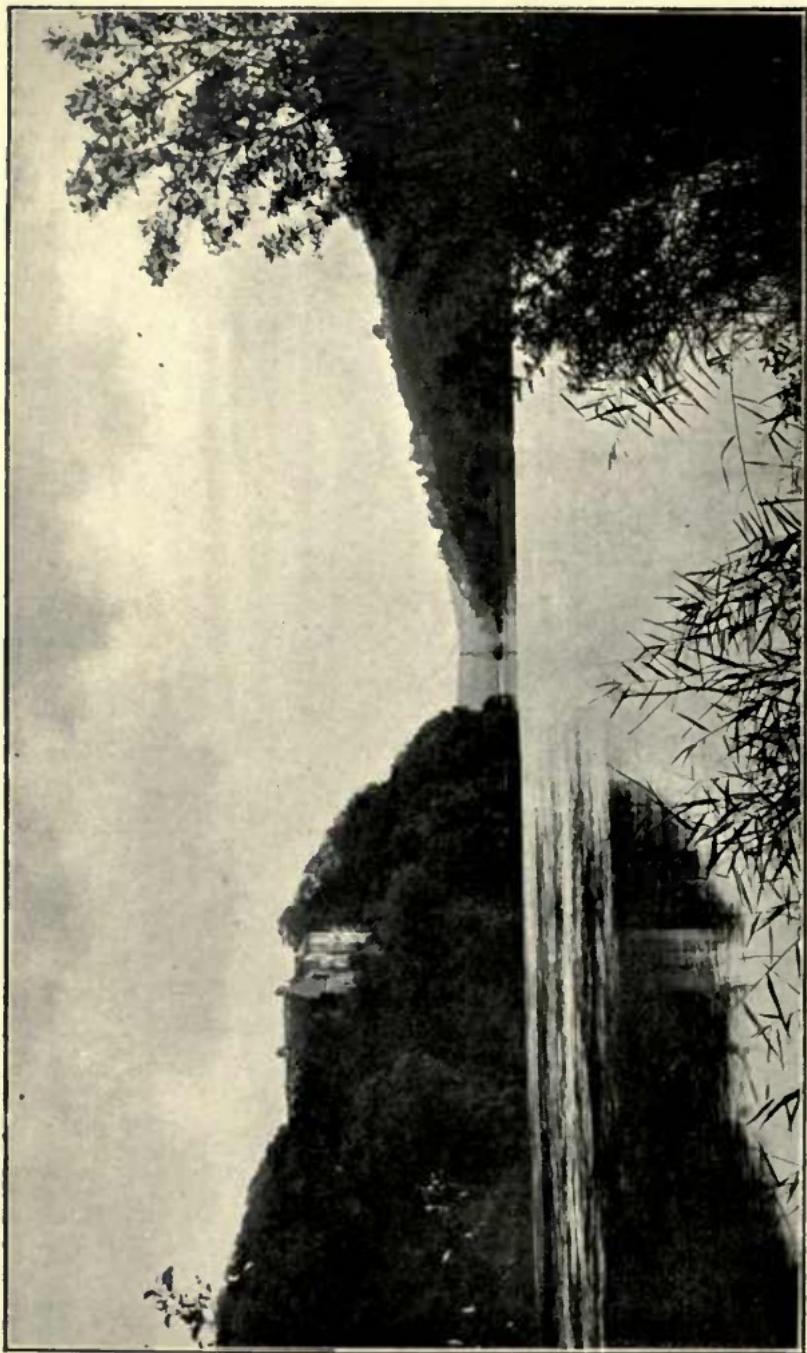
DROMANA.





[Frontis.

DROMANA.  
ON THE BLACKWATER.



# DROMANA:

*THE MEMOIRS OF AN IRISH FAMILY.*

BY

THÉRÈSE MUIR MACKENZIE.

(THÉRÈSE VILLIERS STUART.)



DUBLIN:

SEALY, BRYERS AND WALKER,  
MIDDLE ABBEY STREET.

1907

"Let the past perish—let darkness shroud it—let it sleep forever over the crumbling temples and desolate tombs of its forgotten sons—if it cannot afford from its disburied secrets, a guide for the Present and the Future.

"It is nothing to know what we have been unless it is with the desire of knowing that which we ought to be. Our fathers forbid us to recede—they teach us what is our rightful heritage—they bid us reclaim and augment that heritage—preserve their virtues and avoid their errors. These are the true uses of the past."

*BULWER LYTTON.*

DEDICATED TO  
MY DEAR MOTHER.  
  
WITHOUT  
WHOSE HELP AND ENCOURAGEMENT  
THIS BOOK  
WOULD NEVER HAVE BEEN WRITTEN.

2065698



## CONTENTS.

---

	PAGE.
INTRODUCTION	ix
I.	
THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE FITZ GERALDS OR GERALDYNES	I
II.	
KATHERINE FITZ GERALD—THE OLD COUNTESS OF DESMOND	12
III.	
DROMANA AT THE TIME OF THE TUDORS	45
IV.	
DROMANA AT THE TIME OF THE STUARTS	77
V.	
DROMANA AT THE TIME OF THE GEORGES	163

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

---

DROMANA, ON THE BLACKWATER ..	Facing Title Page.
RUINS OF INCHIQUIN CASTLE ..	.. Facing page 24
PORTRAIT OF THE OLD COUNTESS OF DESMOND, AT DROMANA .. ..	.. .. , 37
PORTRAIT OF THE OLD COUNTESS OF DESMOND, IN LORD ARDILAUN'S POSSESSION ..	, 44
TOMB OF SIR GEORGE VILLIERS ..	, 88
BARBARA ST. JOHN .. ..	.. .. , 92
KATHERINE, DAUGHTER OF LORD POWER OF CURRAGHMORE .. .. ..	.. .. .. , 122
KATHERINE FITZGERALD OF DROMANA ..	, 124
BRIGADIER EDWARD VILLIERS ..	.. .. , 132
WILLIAM VILLIERS .. ..	.. .. , 150
JOHN, EARL OF GRANDISON ..	.. .. , 178
LADY GERTRUDE SEYMOUR ..	.. .. , 208
LADY GERTRUDE VILLIERS ..	.. .. , 210
THÉRÈSE MUIR MACKENZIE ..	.. .. , 212

## INTRODUCTION.

---

These memoirs connected with the old house of Dromana, have been gathered together in a great measure for the sake of making a link between the past generations to whom Dromana has descended in unbroken succession for 500 years, and generations yet to be born whose history and continuity no mortal may predict.

However, though these memoirs were first begun with the idea of their being only a simple family history so much that is of general interest centres round them, I now venture to hope that a larger circle than I first sought to interest will like to read this unpretentious sketch of Irish History that has come into existence, as it were, almost in an unpremeditated way.

There is a very human interest in these old stories and legends, and that touch of nature which revivifies the past. The same emotions stir our hearts to-day, as stirred the hearts of the men and women who have lived and loved and hated and died within the walls of Dromana, where we, their descendants, are still living, and where in ages to come, those who follow us, will doubtless live and die also. The same story will be repeated generation after

generation. Brides will enter the old home amid laughter and rejoicing, their hearts beating high with love and hope, just as brides all through the hundreds of years past have done before them. Likewise, the opening scene in life's drama, as well as the concluding scene, will be re-enacted over and over again, and these old walls will echo back the merry laughter of children, and the sighs of the mourner, as they have already done during many centuries.

It has been a work of love collecting these stories about the men and women who inhabited Dromana. The heroes and heroines have become to me as dear familiar friends, while I have been seeking information about them amid the fragmentary records still available. Time, alas, jealously cloaks the past from our ken, and the historian must often be content with scanty, and sometimes unreliable, material.

If the pictures hanging on the walls portraying my heroes and heroines were only endowed with the power of speech, what strange tales they could tell us. What intimate details they could add to the stories of their lives. It is but an idle wish; the pictures still look down at me silent, the men in their silks and laces and wigs, and the women in their curls and quaint old-time dresses.

Nay, but if they remain silent, even from their silence, the silence of the Past, we may learn momentous things —learn for instance that we are making progress and advancing steadily, if slowly, towards nobler ideals of life, which allow us to hope good will be the final end of

ill. All history, but especially family history, gravely enforces the fact of individual responsibility by showing forth with painful distinctness, how widespread is the effect of individual action. Yield for one moment to mad temptation, perpetrate a slight act of carelessness, and “mayhap,” cries the spirit of History, “you cause indescribable sorrow to countless generations.” Thus, so closely are the past, the present, and the future entwined, that it is impossible to disconnect them one from the other. No one is a free agent, no one is accountable only to themselves of themselves, for are we not all, everlasting, ever continuing threads, in the great web of the For Ever?

Craving pardon for thus pausing to moralise, I will continue this narrative by giving a description of Dromana in the words of Thomas Carlyle. True, he did not visit it till 1849, more than 500 years after it was built, but, alas, there is no description extant of the old Castle of Dromana when it was a Desmond fortress in the eleventh or twelfth century. The surroundings must have been much the same then as now, and the mountains, the river and the woods remain as they were, a picture to delight the eye for ever. The house itself is quite changed by the many vicissitudes it has been through, but one tower has bravely withstood the depredations of war and time. Its massive rugged walls face the world as firmly to-day as in the time of King John, in whose reign it is said to have been built.

To describe Dromana, I could not use words I like better than those used by Thomas Carlyle, the great

Prophet and Sage, who taught us to boldly throw off the yoke of conventionalities and formalism, to judge matters for ourselves, and to be ourselves. His was indeed the fiery soul of truth, and proud must we feel that he slept beneath the roof of Dromana, and proud that he described it in the grand, rugged, terse language he used with so much force. I found his description in his “Reminiscence of my Irish Journey;” and, curiously enough, his visit to Dromana is almost the only incident in his tour about which he has a good word to say. It seems a pity that he did not take back with him to England a more pleasing idea of his visit to the Emerald Isle. He seems to have found everything sordid and uncomfortable, and he was, I think, prejudiced before he began his tour. He landed in Dublin, stayed there some days, and then slowly made his way to Waterford, where he spent the night, and arrived at Dromana late on the evening of the 13th July (1849.) He says:—“Cappoquin at last in the thickening dusk, 8½, I suppose; leave Duffy at the inn and get a car for Dromana, in a most dusty, stiffened, petrified, far from enviable condition. Dromana drawbridge (over river tributary of the Blackwater) Dromana park, |huge, square, grey house and deep solitude, am admitted, received with real hospitality and a beautiful quiet politeness (though my Waterford letter has not yet been received.) Once entirely stript, washed and otherwise refreshed, commit myself to the new, kindly, pure element that surrounds me. Sleep, O the beautiful big old English bed and bedroom, big as a ballroom, looking out on woody precipices that overhang the Blackwater.

Begirt with more silence I slept again, slept a heavy sleep, still remembered with thankfulness."

Saturday, 14th July.—“Beautiful breezy, sunny morning: wide, waving, wooded lawn, new cropt of hay; huge square old mansions hanging on woody brow or (Drom Drum) over the river with steps, and paths out in the steep;—grand silence everywhere, huge empty hall like a Cathedral where we entered.

“The pleasantest morning and day of all my tour. Quiet simple breakfast all in excellent order (tea hot, etc., as you find it rarely in a great house). My letter comes now, and we have a nice quiet hour over this and other things; ride with my host to gardens, through woods, to village of Dromana; clean, slated hamlet with church; founded by predecessors (70 or 80 years ago) for weaving. Ulster weavers have all ceased here; posterity lives by country labour reasonably well, you would say. This was the limit of our ride. All trim, rational, well-ordered here.

“Will drive me to Mount Melleray Monastery—Does so, off about one—Other side of Cappoquin road, wilder mounting towards Knockmeildown mountains, which have made figures, last night, which make a great figure, amongst the other fine objects from Dromana Park, arrive at Melleray in an hour or so,” Carlyle then goes on to describe the Monastery and its inhabitants. One can well imagine how the monks received him with the warmhearted hospitality which they extend to all who seek it.

There is something undeniably interesting about these

barefoot, frugal-living brotherhood ; and an added touch of romance about this particular community appeals to the imagination. Some seventy years ago the disorders of revolutionary France forced them into exile, and they sought refuge on the bare inhospitable side of Knockmeildown Mountains. Their Irish neighbours, more hospitable than their mountains, gave them all the help in their power, the barren stony land around the monastery has been reclaimed, and the good monks are now able to live on the produce of a very fruitful farm.

I think the austere monotony of their lives must be relieved in some degree by the glorious view that stretches away on every side as far as eye can reach. As a background, there is a grand chain of mountains, in the bosom of which tender shadows chase each other, turning from mauve to deepest purple in their flight. Beneath them lies the emerald clad valley of the Blackwater, where, lost to sight, and then found again, twines the silver thread of the river. On the left bank the spreading woods of Dromana make a feature in the landscape. The scene is soul-stirring at all times. In winter, when the hoar frost outlines the skeleton branches of the trees ; in spring, when a blushing love-light lies on the opening buds ; in summer, when the country laughs under a superabundant luxuriance of verdure, and, perhaps, most beautiful ; in autumn, when in nature's audacious scheme of colour, there is a touch of gorgeous extravagance to delight our souls. One might almost envy these old monks their enjoyment of the scene, undisturbed by the rushing maelstrom of life, which so insistently absorbs

the greater part of mankind, and it is good to think, that there are some left who are able and willing to live apart in the calm dignity of leisure. But we must part with the monks and with Thomas Carlyle, who introduced them into these pages, and, leaving the twentieth century, go back many hundred years in the history of the world. For I think I ought, in writing the story of the Dromana family, to begin, as the children say, at the *very* beginning.

## ERRATA.

Page 2, line 4.—Read “the names of Geraldine or Gheradini,” instead of “Geraldine Gherardini.”

Page 51, line 13.—Read “the Earl of Desmond was received with much *favour*,” instead of “*fervour*.”

Page 87, line 19.—Read “This Sir Edward was son of Sir George Villiers, Knight of Brakesby, in the County of Leicester, and therefore half-brother to George Villiers, the celebrated Duke of Buckingham, etc.”

Page 187, last line.—Read “Sophia Kilmansegge,” instead of “Sophia Kielmansacke.”

## DROMANA.



### CHAPTER I.

"The early History of the Fitzgeralds or Geraldynes."

IT is at the siege of Troy that I have first been able to find traces of the Fitzgeralds or Geraldynes, from whom the family of the Dromana Fitzgeralds is descended. I fear me they were a lawless race, over-fond of the theory that might is right; and it is fitting that we should first hear of them amid the noise and stir of a great camp.

This is what the Geraldyne historian\* says in his quaintly-worded chronicle—"The Fitz Geralds of Ireland, men of approved valour, were without question descended from the ancient Trojans, when that famous city of Pergamus being utterly layd waste, after ten years seidge, and all her Princes slayne in Battailes, Prince Aeneus only surviveing." The chronicle goes on to tell of the banishment of Aeneus and his followers, and how the "Ancestors of the Fitz Geralds were of them who followed him in his exile." Then we are told of his wars, and how he became sole Monarch of Italy, and married Laurina daughter of King Latinus, and, finally, how he

\* Mr. Thomas Russell's Relation of the Fitz Geralds of Ireland, written 1638.

assigned part of Italy “to the rest of the Trojans to inhabite. Among others, the ancestors of the Fitz Gerald's did sett downe their rest in that part of Tuscany where now the noble city of Florence stands.” The name Geraldine Gherardini was certainly extant in Italy at least as late as the 17th century, for I have seen a letter (now in the possession of Dr. Ronayne, of Youghal), dated 1652, and written by the then Doge of Venice to a certain Marchese di Gherardini of Verona. Having thus justified the chronicler's statement we must go on to the next event mentioned in the varied history of the family. It appears that in 1067, a younger brother of the house of FitzGerald, hearing that William Duke of Normandy was crossing to England, with the intention of relieving Harold of the Crown, offered his services to William, and “being well followed was accepted by the said Duke and charge given him in the army.” After the battle of Hastings was fought and won, the Fitz Gerald's obtained, as their share of the spoil, the Castle and Lordships of Windsor, which they enjoyed until the time of Walter, the son of Otterus. This Walter had three sons, “and his third son, Gerald of Windsor, married the daughter of Riu ye, grate Prince of Wales,” and their son Maurice Fitz Gerald it was, who, as one of the leaders of the expeditions 1169 under Earl Strongbow, set out for Ireland in 1169. For the reason of this expedition we must as usual “chercher la femme.” The story has I am afraid no moral; for the villain was decidedly victorious. This is what happened —“Dermott Mac Morroghoe, King of Leinster, haveing

stolne awaie the marryed wife of O Melaghlin, King of Meath, weaved ye web of the destruction of the other kings of Ireland, and of his owne also, to beare the rest company. The King of Meath, craving aide from the other Irish Lords, as well as to recover his Lady, as to revenge the wrongs done to him, and haveing their assistance made sharpe and cruell warres against King Dermott. Now Dermott was not able to withstand the joint forces, because his own followers, fearing the danger of civil war, utterly forsook him."

Forced at length to fly from Ireland, he sought help from Henry King of England then engaged in fighting the French. Henry, seeing an opportunity of further conquest, received him "courteously and gratisiously," and promised him aid if he would pay him a yearly tribute. This Dermott having promised to do, Henry sent him to England with a letter to Strongbow "commanding him out of hand with all the forces he could make to repayre to Ireland, and by force of arms to restore to King Dermott his former estate, with a reservation of the rest of the Kingdome to his Majesty."

Strongbow having spent all his substance in "podigall house-keeping, and other royotous disorders," was only too glad of an opportunity of building up his fallen fortunes, and at once set out for Ireland, taking Maurice Fitz Gerald among others to help him. They were victorious everywhere, Dermott was restored to his former kingdom, and "Henry II. acknowledged for Lord of Ireland."

History leaves us unsatisfied as to the fate of the King of Meath's wife, but it is to her that we indirectly owe the conquest of Ireland by the English—a conquest that is rankling even to-day in the hearts of the Irish people. However, the feelings of the Nationalist party are too involved and complicated a subject to be further mentioned here, so we will return to the fortune of Sir Maurice Fitz Gerald. We are told that Henry II. was “myndfull of ye good service done by the right worthy gentlemen, and did very bountifully reward every one of those noble leaders and chieftains according to their desert with ample and large possessions, whereof some of theyre posterity att this day do enjoy and possess some part.” Maurice Fitz Gerald seems to have been, in everyone's estimation, the next greatest man to Earl Strongbow, and to have been rewarded largely in consequence, for he and his descendants “boare the whole sway in the province of Munster,” having obtained their enormous possessions by “gift, purchase and valour;” valour, I fear, being another word for rapine and murder. However, they were not left long in peaceful possession, for their “aspiring greatnesse being much feared by the rest of the Irish Lords, they in secrett wise consulted how to compass their overthrow.”

The enemy having decided to lay an ambush for Thomas Fitz Gerald, the head of the family, who was at that time Lord Justice of Ireland, they brought their plot to a successful issue, and after much fighting Fitz Gerald and his son were both killed, and it seems an aggravation of outrage when we learn that the ambush

was “layed” by Sir Cartye More, Fitz Gerald’s own son-in-law.

“At this time,” continues the chronicle, “the whole Race of the Geraldines of Munster were utterly destroyed, an infant of one year old only remaining.” This child was the grandson of the Lord Justice, and was being nursed and fostered at Tralee at the time of his death, and “the report and rumour of this overthrow comeing thither, suddenly the nurses running forth cryeing and lamenting, the child was left all alone, when a monkey that was kept in the house tooke him out of the cradle, and carrying him to the topp of the Castle, there unwrapped him out of the swadling cloathes, licked and lapped the child, and folded the child up in the cloathes againe, and (contrary to the expectations of such as beheld them) brought him down again in safety, and finding the nurse sitting by the cradle, gave her a sound boxe on the eare, as it is thought thereby warneing and admonishing her to look better hereafter to her charge. You may be sure this is noe fable, for he ever after during his life tyme, boare the name of Thomas an Appa.” It is a curious old story, and it is satisfactory to learn that it was “noe fable.”

I suppose that among all the vicissitudes that happened to the Fitz Gerald’s, their fortunes never were at such a low ebb as when the monkey, personifying Fate, stood on the castle roof, brandishing the last hope of the family in his arms. One jerk, one incautious movement, and the family must have become extinct and this history would never have been written.

It is satisfactory to think that the hero of the monkey story grew up worthy of the kindly Providence which had guarded his early years from harm. He was, we learn, a “very noble man, and very fortunate in pursueing revenge for the death of his parents, and raseeing his house to greate honours, it being almost utterly extinguished.” When he died he left a son Maurice Fitz Thomas, who, 1328 in 1328, was created, by Edward III. first Earl of Desmond.

This first Earl of Desmond was “feared of his enemyes and well loved of his friends, and that, having charge from the King, he went with an army to the Kingdome of Scotland, when haveing committed an infinite harme, and laden with the spoyles, he returned, bringing from thence greate bootyes.” He was also granted “supreame command of a ffleete at sea, scoured the Irish Ocean at that tyme much infested with merciless pyrates—also dureing his lyfe he kept the Irish in due subjection to the 1380 Crowne of England.” He died in 1380 and the Earldom passed to his son, Maurice Fitz Gerald.

Concerning the Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth Earls there is little to record. John Fitz Morrice, the Third Earl “had much to doe with the Irish Lords, who would not well brooke to see their anncient patrymonies in ye hands of outlandish men so tearingin the sept of the Geraldynes.”

Garrett, the fourth Earl, is said to have some skill in magic he also “left the Earldom to his brother John as good a pennyworth as he received from his father.”

Thomas, the Sixth Earl, does not seem to have been so wise as “his noble and illustrious progenitors in the

Earledome of Desmond for he fell into a forgetfullness of his duty and allegiance to the Crowne of England. Being held by the State a dangerous man, he was apprehended and compelled to enter very good and sufficient security for his future loyalty, whereupon twelve Lords of the English pale became bound for him and his forth coming."

However, he rebelled a second time, "and not dareing to appeare to justify himself the Bonds were forfeited to the General undoing of most of these Lords who were bound for his appearance. The Earle himselfe, after many windings and turneings up and down the Realme, and wanting both friends and means, at last he left the Land and fledd to France, where he dyed in banishment in 1446." All his possessions were confiscated by an Act of Parliament, but afterwards restored to his nephew James who became Seventh Earl.

James had two sons, the eldest, Thomas, succeeded him as Eighth Earl on his death in 1457.

To his younger son, Gerald, he granted the territory of the Decies. This territory came to the house of Desmond by marriage among its very oldest acquirements. In 1199, while King John was "Lord of Ireland," he added to the possessions the Desmonds had acquired from Henry II. by grants of some districts in Munster. This grant of land was made to Thomas Fitz Maurice, with full baronial powers, as may be seen by the charter at the Tower of London.

This Thomas died sixteen years afterwards, in 1215, and the wardship and marriage of John Fitz Thomas, his heir, was given for 600 marks to Thomas Fitz-Antony,

"King's Seneschal of Leinster, Custos of Waterford, and Lord of the Mannor of Decies and Castle of Dungarvan." Fitz-Antony, according to the usuages of these times, had the power of disposing of his ward's hand, if not of his heart, and he forthwith married him to his daughter and co-heiress, Margery. By so doing, he secured for his grand-children the richest inheritance in Munster.

Naturally, the records about the Decies property at this early date are very scanty. We can trace, in 1232, John Fitz Thomas in the compute rolls of Henry III. paying "reliefs" and "Crown debts" due for the inheritance of his wife Margery Fitz-Antony; and in subsequent public documents \* we find entries of "the rent of the Decies" as payable to the Crown. There are now, also, in Dromana some very old documents dating from before the time of the Magna Charta. They relate to the fishing, and prove that the inhabitants of Dromana had a "several fishery" † on the Blackwater as far back in history as the twelfth century.

The lands of the Decies acquired by marriage continued attached to the inheritance of the Desmonds for several generations, until, in 1457, they were given by James, the Seventh Earl (as has been already said), to his

\* Some years ago the Duke of Devonshire had a trial about his fishery at Lismore, which lasted nearly twenty years, and was finally decided in his favour on the evidence of these old documents from Dromana which he borrowed.

† There is rather an amusing story told in connection with this fishery case. Some part of the trial took place in the County Tipperary and the jury, having heard the evidence for one side privately, told the judge that they had quite made up their mind, and begged that he would not oblige them to hear the evidence for the other side, as it would only confuse them.

younger son, Gerald, who thus became Lord of the Decies and founder of the Dromana Family.

In all probability, when Gerald came into the Decies property, he took up his residence in the Castle of Dromana, which stood then, as it still stands, on a high rock overlooking the river Blackwater, a safe and impregnable position in those turbulent times. One tower at least had been built nearly two hundred years before Gerald came into possession, and here stands the tower to-day, strong and mighty as ever, to resist the onslaught of time, as in the past it has successfully weathered the hostile attacks of the enemy. It is recorded that Gerald built the Castle of Dromana, but it is more likely that he built additions to the existing castle.

Unhappily, there are no records left concerning Gerald save the fact that he married Margaret, a daughter of Mac Richard Burke, and left a son John, who succeeded him. He seems to have lived and died unmolested by the disturbances and enmities that proved fatal to his brother Thomas, the eighth Earl of Desmond.

This Thomas, we are told, was "much favoured by King Edward IV., in whose tyme he lived and flourished, having followed the fortune of the said King during those long and bloody warres which past betwixt the two Princely houses of York and Lancaster. Now, Edward being not unmindfull of the good services done for him by the Desmond in the Civil Wars for reward made him Lord Deputy of Ireland." Just before leaving for Ireland, Edward sent for the Earl, and asked him "what fault worthy of reprehension the people found in his

new-begun Government?" Desmond's answer was that "the greatest fault any man would lay to his Majesty was the unequall and too low match hee made when he marryed Elizabeth Woodville." Desmond furthermore advised the King to "cast her off, and to joyne and linke himself to some greater and powerful Princess." The King was not angry at the Earl's plain-spokenness, but sent him to Ireland "with many gifts and favours." Now it so happened that some years afterwards the King "upon some discontent grew angry with the Queene" and said, "had I followed my Cousin Desmond's advice your pride had been abated long since." Afterwards when the King and Queen made up their quarrel she caused her husband to tell her exactly what the Desmond had said, and being "a spightful woman sought and studyed out means how to bee revenged upon the Earle which to bring to pass she stole the King's privy seale and then directed a warrant or command formally therewith sealed to ye Earle of Worcester, who was then Lord Deputy of Ireland, commanding him upon sight thereof to putt the Earle to death." Accordingly the unsuspecting Desmond was lured to Droghedagh and "made shorter by a head to the great astonishment of the whole nobility of Ireland."

This little tale is indeed a warning to anyone inclined to interfere in the family affairs of other people.

The unfortunate Earl, victim of a woman's revenge, was succeeded by his two eldest sons and a grandson, and then the succession fell to his third son Thomas, who became twelfth Earl. This Thomas is of special interest

to us because he married his Cousin Katherine, granddaughter to that Gerald who became first lord of the Decies and of Dromana.

Katherine Fitz Gerald is one of the most extraordinary figures in History because of her great age, for she lived to be one hundred and forty at the very least, and, some writers say, to one hundred and sixty years.

However, a dame so venerable is worthy of all consideration, and must in consequence be given the next chapter entirely to herself.

## CHAPTER II.

¶ Katherine Fitz Gerald.—The Old Countess of Desmond.

KATHERINE FITZ GERALD was born, as far as we can judge, about the year 1464. In all probability she first saw the light in her father's castle of Dromana or Dromanye, as it was then called.

According to tradition she spent some period of her girlhood at the court of Edward IV. of England. One writer\* in speaking of our heroine asks: "Why was Katherine in England?" then goes on to say, "Let us conjecture with retrospective clairvoyance that she came over—young, fair—to grace the court as a mediaeval Maid of Honour (or like another "fair Geraldine," her kinswoman, who was educated with her cousins, Queen Mary and Elizabeth) she was brought up with the royal Princesses who were her own age. The luxurious Edward IV. gathered round him a court circle, the most beautiful in the world, so that the eyes of foreign ambassadors were positively dazzled by the superabundant lovely young ladies they saw at the State Ball in the Palace of Westminster. Judging from Katherine's picture, painted when she had attained the great age of 140 years, one can quite well imagine that she may have been very beautiful in her youth. Horace Walpole says,

\* The anonymous author of an article entitled the "Old Countess," published in the *Quarterly Review* (March, 1853).

in his vivacious way, in speaking of her picture—"shades of veteran beauties. Dian de Poitiers and Ninon de l'Enclos brilliant as were your earthly attraction after sixty summers, a nobler grace lingered in the doubly-septuagenarian original. Forfend that her stern shade ever resent a comparison with such frail creatures. She carries the historic, proud countenance of the Geraldines of her day. Aristocratic, patrician, and placid, though deeply traced with sorrow, eyes hazel, features regular and handsome, a complexion yet fresh and healthy, cette Comtesse dans sa premiere jeunesse, fair, vivacious, now diminished to six score years—must have been more lovely than the widowed Lady Anne, whose heavenly face provoked haunted sleep."

One is inclined to agree with Walpole's estimate of Katherine's character. One feels she must have been proud, strong, unbending, capable of great firmness of purpose, and possessed of dauntless courage. She lived in an age that fostered such qualities, an age in which the weak and wavering went to the wall, because the law of the survival of the fittest held undisputed sway, an age that produced virile men of the calibre of Columbus and Raleigh, and women of iron purpose and dominant intellect, like Elizabeth of England. If we are to believe the story of Katherine to be true, we may, indeed, regard her as a type of character liable to be produced by the eventful sixteenth century, which was a veritable battlefield, whereon the darkness of mediaeval tyranny strove to annihilate by violence and bloodshed the insistent and ever-growing demand for light and freedom.

Granting that Katherine had enough personal charm to win her a footing in the court circle of the fastidious Edward, there was probably another reason that might account for her presence. Edward, as we have seen, entertained a great regard for Thomas, eighth Earl of Desmond, and was deeply displeased at his unsanctioned execution.

This Thomas was great Uncle to Katherine, and Uncle to her father; so it is more than likely that, in order to atone for the chieftain's untimely death, Edward may have gone out of his way to show honour and friendship to his near relatives. On the whole, it is quite probable that Katherine did, as tradition recounts, visit the English Court. But whether she did, or whether she did not, she chose no gay English Gallant to be her husband, but a kinsman of her own house and blood, her cousin, Sir Thomas, third son of the Earl who was beheaded at Drogheda, and himself, many years afterwards, successor to the family title, as twelfth Earl of Desmond. The marriage probably took place about the year 1480, but the exact date is impossible to fix.

Conclusive and irrefutable evidence concerning Katherine's great age and the chief events in her life, is very scanty. The most reliable testimony we have is Sir Walter Raleigh's statement about her in his "History of the World."\* He says very distinctly—"I myself knew the Countess of Desmond, of Inchiquin, in Munster, who

\* See Sir Walter Raleigh's "History of the World," book I., Chapter V., Section V., folio edition, 1614, page 66.

lived in the year 1589, and many years since, who was marryed in Edward IV's. time, and held her jointure from all the Earl's of Desmond since then; and that this is true, all the noblemen and gentlemen of Munster can witness." That he calls witnesses to support his word, shows that he scarcely expects that the very unique story will be believed.

The reference to the Countess of Desmond occurs in the portion of the History relating to "the long lives of the Patriarchs and some of later memory." Having discussed the former question, Sir Walter comes down to comparatively modern times, and refers to Pliny's statement of ages that were returned under a taxation in the reign of Vespasian:—54 aged 100, 57 aged 110, 2 aged 125, 4 aged 135, and 137, and, last of all, 3 men of 140. Then, noticing what other writers of more modern date have to say on the subject of age, he finally gives the statement respecting the Countess of Desmond, on his own personal knowledge.

Now, Sir Walter published the first edition of his History in 1614, only ten years after the conjectured date of Katherine's death, when it would have been easy to have contradicted his statement. We have proof that it passed unchallenged, because another and similar edition was published in 1617, the year before Raleigh was beheaded. We may be certain that, as he wrote while a prisoner in the Tower under royal displeasure, there were not lacking parasites of King James' Court who would have gone out of their way to prove an error in Raleigh's work, yet they *apparently held their peace*.

From the time of Katherine's marriage until 1589, when, Raleigh tells us, she was living in the Castle of Inchiquin, five miles from Youghal, we have no records of her life. We do know something concerning the career of Sir Thomas, her husband, and thus knowing must conclude that his life was far from peaceful. For Sir Thomas was a very turbulent character, and, like all his family, lived and died fighting. He was known by the name of Thomas the Victorious, and sometimes as Thomas "the Bald." He must have been a particularly hardy old ruffian, for at the age of eighty it was reported to Henry VIII. that "albeit his years require quietness and rest, yet entendeth he as much trouble as ever did any of his nation."\*

† One old Chronicler says that Sir Thomas "was very fortunate and a greate warriour, and always gott the victory, haveing bin an actor in nyne fought Battailles. He was Generall of the horsemen in that greate battell which was fought out between the Earle of Kildare, then Lord Deputy, and Generall of the whole Kingdome of Ireland, and ye greate O'Brien of Twomond; which battaile was valliantly and resolutely fought out by both partyes, and the victory stood doubtfull. This Earle Thomas Meale (Irish for Bald) had the honour to give two several overthrowes to two Lords of Muscry, and the killing of them, one of them being his father-in-law. Many other valiant feats and acts, worth ample relation,

\* Taken from a despatch of Lord Surrey, written in 1534.

† Mr. Thomas Russell's Relation of Fitz Gerald of Ireland, written in 1638.

were by him manfully undertaken and performed, both before and after y<sup>t</sup> hee came to the Earldome."

One gathers from these and other sources that Sir Thomas was, indeed, stout of heart and very valiant in the killing of his enemies, the beau ideal of a man in those times, and in fact the only type that was honoured and approved of. Now, I fear he could be merely regarded as a ruthless savage. Nevertheless, he was a leader among men, and a fitting mate for such a forceful personality as Katherine. It speaks not a little for her powers, that she did keep a grip on her rough husband for more than forty years, for she never bore him a son, and that in itself constituted sufficient cause for the breaking of the marriage tie in Ireland in the sixteenth century. As a matter of fact, Thomas had presumably "put awaie" one wife before he married Katherine. This is the only theory that coincides with Raleigh's statement that Katherine was married in Edward IV's. time, for the first wife was known to be alive in 1505. This lady's name was Gilis Ny Cormyk, a daughter of Cormack Oge Cartie, the Lord of Muscry or Muskerry, which Lord we have just learnt Thomas had had the "honour" to overthrow and kill. Whether the quarrel, which proved so fatal to the Lord of Muscry arose because Thomas "put awaie" Gilis, or whether, after her father's death, she herself insisted on a separation, is not known.

We are sure that Gilis was alive in 1505, because a document is still in existence showing that she hired land from the Earl of Kildare in that year. The

wording of the document runs thus:—\* “ An Identur from Gerald Fitz, Thomas Erll of Kildar unto Gilis Ny Cormyk, wife to Sir Thomas of Desmond, upon Corbynne, in the Countie of Cork, for terme of V yeres, paing yerely at Mychelmas and Ester XXVIIs. VIIId. sterling, and that the said Gilis shall not wast the woods. Dated the IX of June a° XX.H.VII<sup>mi</sup>. ”

This document might suggest that Raleigh could not have been correct as to the date of Katherine’s marriage, but on reflection it strikes one forcibly that if Gilis had been living with Sir Thomas as his acknowledged and reigning wife, she would not have hired land on her own account, and in her maiden name, close to her husband’s property. Neither would the “ Erll of Kildar ” have been willing to give a lease of lands to Gilis if she had been living with her husband, for there would have been no security, as he could have repudiated it at any moment. It was, of course, a different matter if, as we are assuming, she was leading an independent life apart from her husband.

The Irish marriage laws appear, even as late as the days of Queen Elizabeth, to have been extremely lax. It was a perfectly easy matter, in the times of which we write, to annul a marriage, and it appears to have been regarded as quite an ordinary occurrence. One has only to study Irish History in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to find instance after instance to prove that the marriage tie was a mere slip-knot, holding the parties

\* This extract is taken from the family papers of the Earls of Kildare, now in the British Museum.

together no longer than inclination or interest induced a continuation of the connexion. \* Camden, in writing of “The Ancient and Modern Customs of the Irish,” quotes a certain priest called Good, who, he tells us, was educated at Oxford, and was schoolmaster at Limerick in the year 1566. This is what the reverend Father says concerning marriage, and giving in marriage, among the mediaeval Irish :—

“ They seldom marry out of their own town, and contract with one another, not in presenti but in futuro, or else consent without any manner of deliberation. Upon this account, the least difference generally parts them, the husband taking another wife, and the wife another husband ; nor is it certain whether the contract be true or false, till they die. Hence arise feuds, rapines, murders, and deadly enmities about succeeding to the inheritance. The cast-off wives have recourse to the witches, these being looked upon as able to afflict either the former husband or the new wife with calamity ; and divorces, under pretence of conscience, are very frequent.”

We have an example in Sir Thomas’s own family, which shows how correct the priest was in thus describing the light way in which the marriage bond was held. James Fitz Gerald, fifteenth Earl of Desmond, who died in 1558, was married four times—first, to Jane Roche, daughter of Lord Fermoy, whom he put away illegally.† Then he married Mori, daughter of Sir Maolroney O’Caroll, Chief of his name, Lord of Ely O’Caroll ;

\* See Camden’s “ Britannia,” Gibson’s edition : London, 1695.

† See Sir William Betham’s Pedigree of the Earl of Desmond.

thirdly, he married Katherine, daughter of Pierce, Earl of Ormonde, and, lastly, Ellen, daughter of Donald M'Cartie More, sister of Donald, Earl of Clancare. As the three succeeding wives were all ladies of high degree, it was evident that no discredit was attached to the Desmond Chieftain for the “putting away” of the first wife.

Without enumerating other instances, as it would be easy to do, to prove that marriage was not regarded as a permanent and irrevocable tie among the contemporaries of Sir Thomas of Desmond, we may presume that Raleigh was correct as to the time of Katherine's marriage, and, also, that it did take place during the lifetime of Gilis. If the discarded lady had “recourse to the witches” Katherine would seem to have been as impervious to spells curses and enchantments as she was to the ravages of time. Perhaps Gilis had not so much reason to wish the new wife ill, because Katherine never had a son, and so her own son's position as his father's heir remained unchallenged.

Sir Thomas became twelfth Earl of Desmond in 1529, but he only enjoyed the title for a short time, as he died some five years later. In spite of his fierce, warlike spirit and barbaric ways, he showed a certain feeling of friendliness and clanship towards Katherine's father and brother. Though he had apparently quarrelled with them, as he did with many of his other relatives, nevertheless, on becoming head of the family, either of his own accord, or at the instigation of Katherine, he buried all differences, and did them a very good turn by

*confirming* the grant of the Decies property which had been given to this younger branch of the family by James, the seventh Earl (a mutual grandsire of Sir Thomas and of Katherine's father).

This deed of confirmation is most carefully preserved among the documents of the Dromana family. It is dated "21st Henry VIII." (1529), and is somewhat intricately worded.

The document commences thus :—"By indented deed of compromise and treaty of peace and amity made between the Noble and Illustrious and Most Puisseant Man, the Lord Thomas, Earl of Desmond, of the one part, and John Fitz Gerald, the son of the Earl of Desmond (meaning grandson, no doubt), and Gerald, the son of the said John, of the other part, it was witnessed that the aforesaid Thomas, Earl of Desmond, and the aforesaid John Fitz Gerald and Gerald, the son of the said John, in order to cease and determine all matter of strife, discord, and wars hitherto arisen between them (had nominated as referees) the circumspect man, Donald M'Krahy Magony M'Syhy, and they not agreeing, the noble and puissant man, Cormac M'Crahy, the younger (as umpire), who, having been sworn as therein mentioned ; and the sacraments of the altar having been administered to the mediators and their serfes, partly to those present, and also to those absent, whom each party had caused to be nominated and summoned, they had freely and spontaneously bound themselves high and low (to stand by the award), and the said Cormac Magony and Donald had declared their award, arbitration

order, and agreement to the parties partly present, and had published the same in writing, whereby they did award, ordain, arbitrate and adjust.

That the aforesaid Lord Thomas, Earl of Desmond, and James, the grandson and heir of the said Thomas, by whose will and consent the things were done, and their heirs from that hour be the subjects and dependants of the good Lord John Fitz Gerald and of Gerald, his son, adherents to the said John and Gerald, and the Earl himself and his heirs should, to the utmost of their power, defend and maintain the said John and Gerald and their land of the Decies against all persons whomsoever, and also to attack and recover the castle of Kilmac Thomasyn, for the said John and Gerald shall labour to their utmost, and the said John and Gerald should assist and defend the said Earl, not binding themselves to a given number of armed warriors, against whomsoever it was lawful for them to do so, the King's Deputy and the Earl of Ormond" (excepted).

"Also," the deed continues, "the said John and Gerald and their heirs should have all the country of the Decies and the lands, so far as the right and property by us therein determined as in the Charter by us made to them, is more fully contained." The remainder of the deed is too long to give in full, but the gist of it runs thus:—It was ordained that the Earl and his heirs should not appoint foot or horse guards in the country of the Decies, neither should the said Earl or his wife demand entertainment from the nobles of the country, nor buy or exchange lands in that country against the will of John and Gerald.

Also, should the Earl or his heirs demand the aid of John and his heirs in any war or attack, they should pay for the aid, the latter parties should receive into their protection, and to the uttermost defend the town and burgage of Dungarvan with all their men and their goods abiding therein, and that they should have one-third part of the emoluments acquired in respect of the sea by reason of shipwreck or wreck of the sea.

Also, if the Earl should come to demand once in the year entertainment from John and from Gerald, or from their heirs, there should be no assembly of the neighbouring country (*i.e., the visit should be a quiet one*).

Also, the said John and Gerald, and their heirs, as often as they should visit the said Earl and his heirs, should demand and have from them a safe conduct in going and returning without reproach of ingratitude.

The foregoing deed, winding as it is in language, is full of kind intentions on Sir Thomas's part to benefit his father-in-law and brother-in-law. If he had quarrelled with them in earlier times, at least he made up for it towards the end of his life.

Sir Thomas, or Earl Thomas, died at Rathkeale in 1534, and was buried in the old Abbey church at Youghal. He was succeeded by his and Gilis Ny Cormak's grandson, James, whose father, Maurice Fitz Thomas, had died in 1529. (This Maurice was Sir Thomas's and Gilis Ny Cormak's only son).

James, who became thirteenth earl of Desmond, was, at the time of Sir Thomas's death in England, acting as page to Henry VIII., but doubtless also as a hostage

and pledge for the good behaviour of his contentious old grandfather.

We may presume that after her husband's death, Katherine retired to Inchiquin, her dower house, where she was still living in 1589, when Sir Walter Raleigh knew her.

The ruins of Inchiquin Castle may still be seen ; they lie some five miles west of Youghal in the County of Cork (Inchiquin in Irish means Inch a Caoin, the pleasant or agreeable Inch, *i.e.*, low lying meadow land beside a river).

The Castle stands on the left bank of a tidal stream ; it is an extremely massive structure, circular in form, about thirty feet in height, and rather deficient in architectural details, and all vestiges of its outworks have disappeared.

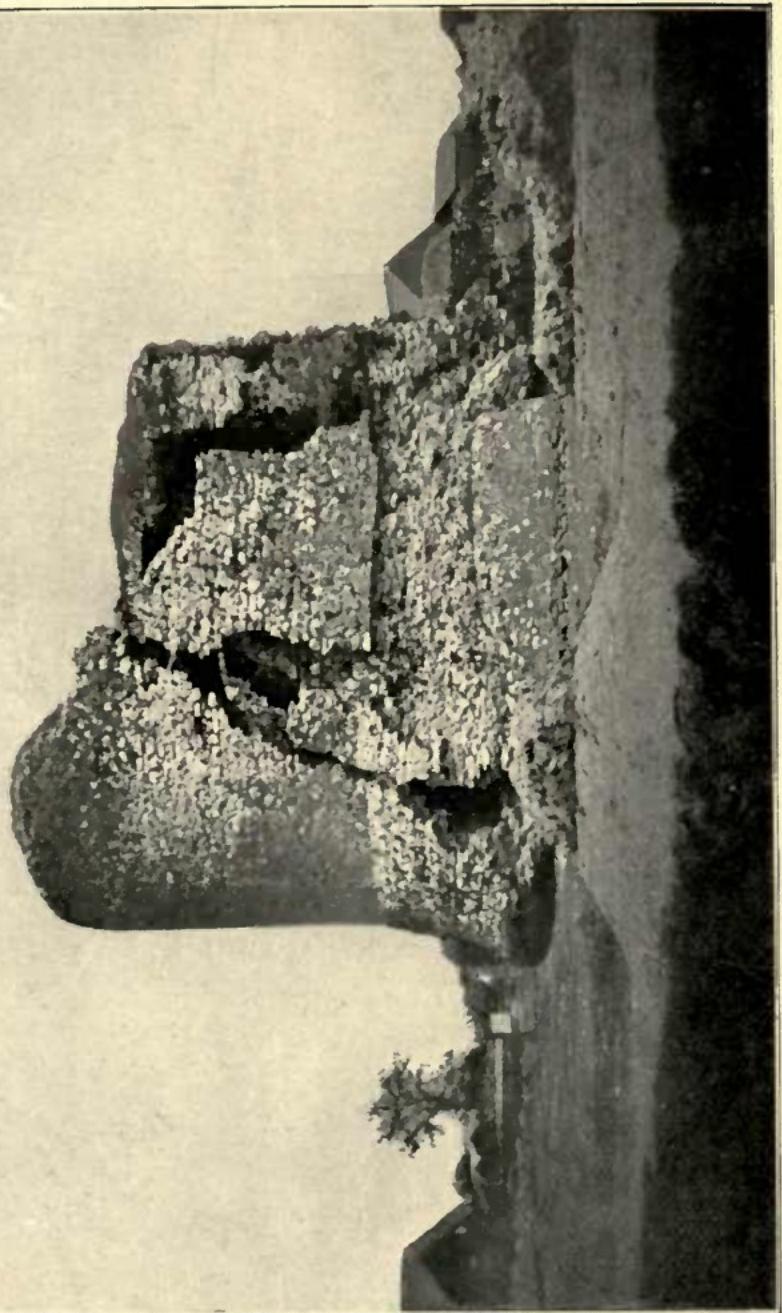
Its walls are of great thickness, measuring eleven feet two inches ; nevertheless they have yielded to time and wanton injury at the south side, facing the water, where the door had once been, that whole side having disappeared. Adjacent to it, at the south side, where a staircase had been, a huge rent now runs along the whole wall. The diameter of the enclosed area is thirty-three feet. The interior was originally vaulted at about one-third of its height, but the arch and its floor are now gone. The basement was lit by three small oblong lights, deeply splayed inwards. Judging from the only one remaining perfect, the opening for admission of light was only three feet in height by one in width. The upper floor was lit by two windows of large size, but equally

[George Heard, Esq.

RUINS OF INCHIQUIN CASTLE.

DOWER-HOUSE OF THE OLD COUNTESS OF DESMOND.

*Photo by]*





splayed. The fire place is gone, but its place in the west wall is marked.\*

In tracing the history of this castle we find it so early as 1371 declared forfeit to the King by the failure of Thomas de Roos, the owner, to do his feudal service to the Crown. It changed owners very often; once it was a possession of the See of Cloyne, then it passed to the House of Ormond, and in 1420 we find James, the seventh Earl of Desmond, constituted by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland Seneschal of the "baronie of Incokelly, Inchiquin, and the town of Youghal." Subsequently, in 1535 Katherine's husband was buried in Youghal, while we find Inchiquin assigned to her as her jointure land and residence.

Sir Walter Raleigh informs us that Katherine held her jointure from all the Earls of Desmond since the time of her marriage in Edward IV's reign. This statement is in all probability true. Sir Thomas's eldest brother, James, ninth earl, quite possibly made a provision for his brother's wife, for Thomas was only a younger son, and had little or no property to settle on a wife, and what little he had was presumably settled on Gilis and her son. It was natural enough for the eldest brother to help the younger, and James would have been more likely to do so, because Katherine was his own first cousin, and he himself had no son to leave his property to. Eldest brothers have been known to assist the cadets of their house in such ways in modern times, so there is no

\* This description is taken from Mr. Sainthill's "Old Countess of Desmond," volume II., page 49.

difficulty in imagining that Earl James gave Katherine a lien on the Desmond estates for her marriage portion. His brother, the tenth Earl, and his nephew, the eleventh Earl, would also seem to have acquiesced in the arrangement, and when Sir Thomas became Earl in his turn Katherine's right to her jointure and dower house was secured beyond all question.

At the time when Gerald, the sixteenth Earl, called "the great rebel," was laying his plans for entering into revolt, he evolved the idea of enfeoffing trustees with all his estates, the idea being that they would thus be saved, if his property was confiscated. Among the rest he tried to make sure of the reversion of Katherine's jointure lands. But Earl Gerald's purpose was frustrated by an enactment declaring all deeds "executed subsequent to the Earl's intent to rebel, null and void," and then Katherine, who had in 1575 surrendered to him her dowry in the Castle and town of Inchiquin, presumably went into possession as a jointuress once more. The deed referring to the transaction is preserved in the State Papers Office,\* and it runs as follows:—

August 5, 1575—"Whereas I, Lady Katherine, late wief to Thomas, late Earle of Desmond, deceased, have and doe enjoye amongst other parcells as my thirde parte and dower of my saide late husband's lands by lafull assignmt the castell and town of Inchiquyne with sixe plowlands, arable lands, called the six fre plowlandes in Inchiquine, together with More's meadows, pastures, groves, woodds, milles and milplaces, with their water courses, rivers,

\* Rot. Mem. 29 Eliz. Mem. 21.

streams, with their weares, and fisheryes, parcell of the said towne, and belonging to the same. Be it known unto all men by these presents, that for good consideracion me movings, I have geven, graunted, and surrendered the said Castle and Towne of Inchiquine with the said six plowelandes, together with all singular the premisses with there appurtenances, together with all my intereste and estate therein unto the righte honourable Gerrott, Earle of Desmond, now injoyenge the reversion of the premises. To have, hold, and injoye the same unto the saide Earle, his heires and assignes, as his proper inheritance, notwithstandinge any dower, joynter or any other estate, I have or ought to have in the premises or in any part or parcell of them.

“ In witnesse thereof I have hereunto put my seale the fifth of Auguste, a thousand five hundred seventye and five, and in the seventeenth yere of the reigne of our sovereigne ladie Queene Elizabeth.

“ Beinge presente at the enseal inge and deliverie herof by the ladie Katherine within named.

T. DESMOND.

THOMAS FFAUNYNGE, Thesaurar.

MONSH SHAEGHUN.

DAVID ROCHE.

“ Witness, ELLEN SHEA.”

As an addenda to this deed, then follows a feoffment from the Earl of Desmond to Maurice Sheghan, his servant, and David Roche, Gentleman of the Castle and town of Inchiquin, dated 7th of August, 1575, to the use of John Synot, of Wexford, for 31 years, then to the use

of the Earl and Lady Ellenor, his wife and their heirs male. John Fitz-Gerald, of Camphire, as is the custom in Ireland on similar occasions to this day, “gav livery and seizen by delivering of a ‘piece of earthe,’” in the house of Inchiquyne to David Roche in presence of many witnesses whose names are given.

Eleven years afterwards, in 1586, Synot enrolled this Deed of Assignment, in order presumably, because of the confiscation of Earl Gerald’s property, to try and secure his own life’s interest in the Castle and Barony of Inchiquin. However, he did not succeed in his object for Katherine was certainly living in undisturbed possession of her Castle when Sir Walter Raleigh was Mayor of Youghal in 1588.

Now, we come to an interesting period in our old Countess’s history, when she and Sir Walter actually knew each other, and conversed face to face. The courtly man of the world, with the glamour of foreign adventure and Royal favour surrounding him, and the strange old lady, now some 124 years of age, must have been of much mutual interest to one another. Their houses in the town of Youghal were next door to each other. Sir Walter’s house, Myrtle Grove, only being divided by a road from the old College House,\* which

\* Part of the College House may still be seen, and Myrtle Grove is very well preserved, and remains much the same as in Sir Walter’s time. It is now the property of Sir Henry Blake. In the gardens the yew tree is still pointed out under which Sir Walter used to sit and converse with his friend, the Poet Spenser. The story is told of how he was one day sitting there, smoking the then little known pipe, when his servant approached with a tankard of ale, and on seeing the smoke imagined he was on fire, and threw the contents of the tankard over his master’s head in an heroic effort to save his life!

was then the town house of the Earls of Desmond. Tradition tells us that the old Countess used to occupy it at times, perhaps in the winter when her Castle of Inchiquin seemed cold or lonely, or, again, perchance, she took refuge there when the country side was more than usually disturbed by marauding bands of rebels. At any rate, her ghost is still said to haunt the College House, and has been seen on more than one occasion.

The years following the overthrow and death of Gerald, the rebel Earl, were stormy ones for Ireland, and especially so for his immediate family and connections. His property was all confiscated by the Crown, nor did Katherine's jointure lands escape, for an MS. State Paper (preserved in the State Paper Office), dated 1589, enumerates among the forfeitures of the attainted Earl "the Castle and Maner of Inchiquin, now in the hands of Dame Katherine Fitz John, late wyfe to Thomas, somtyme Earl of Desmond, for terme of lyfe as for her dower." Though the castle and maner of Inchiquin were thus forfeited, Katherine never seems to have been dispossessed of them entirely, and this may have been because they were granted, among other lands in that part of Ireland, to Sir Walter Raleigh, who was, doubtless, friendly disposed towards her. One can imagine how his chivalrous courtesy would have prevented his disturbing the ancient owner, even when a law was passed ordering him to "plant Munster" with English settlers.

The English settler who was granted the lease of Inchiquin was one John Clever of London, and in the lease the rights of the old Countess are recognised. The

lease \* is still in existence, and some extracts thought to be of interest are given here. The document begins thus:—

“ This Indenture, made the one and twentieth day of July, in the thirtith yeare of ye raign of or Sou’aign Ladie Elizabeth by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queene Defender of the Faith, &c., Between the honourable Sir Walter Raligh, Knight, Lord Warder of her Maties Stannaries in ye Counties of Devon and Cornwale, and one of the principal undertakers with her Matie for ye repeoplinge and inhabitinge ye Attainted and excheated lands in ye Counties of Cork and Waterford in ye province of Munster, in her highnes Realme of Ireland of the one ptie. And John Clever of London Gentleman of thother ptie. Witnesseth, that the said Sir Walter Ralegh for divers good causes and reasonable considerations, etc., doth demise, graunte, betake and to farme lett unto the said John Clever, All that Ploughland commonly called or knownen by the name of Coullie Clofinia, sett and beinge within the Barony of Inchiqulyn in ye Countie of Corke aforesaid with foure hundred acres of arable land and ferme wodes thereunto belonginge. To have, and to hold all and singular the same demised premises and every pcell thereof with the appurtenances unto the said John Clever his Executors and Assigns, from the feast of Sainet Michaell Th’Archaungell next ensuinge and fully to be compleat and ended, yelding and payinge therefor yearly during

\* For reference concerning this lease see “Old Countess of Desmond,” by Sainthill, Page 27.

three of the said yeares (viz) from thend of the yeare of our Lord God wch shall be One Thousand five hundred foure score and nine, and from and after the decease of the Ladie Catetlyn, old Countess Dowager of Desmond Widdowe, until thend of the yeare of our Lord God wch shall be (1593) the yearly rent of Tenne Pounds of lawful money of England at the said two feasts of the Annunciation of or Ladie St. Mary the Virgine and St. Michaell Tharchaungell wch of them shall first happen after the death of the said Countesse, and after thend of the said yeare of or Lord God (1593) the first payment therof shall begyne, and also fower capons or hennes at the feasts of Easter and Christmas, if they be demanded. And the said John Clever for himself, etc., etc., covennteth and graunteth to and with the said Sir Walter Ralegh, his heires and Assignes by their pnts to find from tyme to tyme after the decease of the said Countesse, and after the end of the said yeare of or Lord God wch shall be (1593) a sufficient lighthorseman and furniture to him the said Sir Walter Ralegh his heires and assigns, in the affaires of the Crowne of Ireland."

(Mr. John Clever then further covenants to build a mansion or dwelling house in and upon the same premises; and also to enclose with hedge, ditch, and quicke sett one hundred acres at least of the same premises; and to pay a further rent of one penny per acre for boggy mountains, or barren heath, converted into good ground, should "ye Queenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> demand one farthing or half penny per acre of Sir Walter Ralegh for the improved land.)"

The document ends thus:—"In witness whereof the said Pties to their Pnt Indentures, interchaungable have putt their hands and Seales, Ye oven the day and yeare first above written (Anno Dni) 1588.

(The lease is signed) W. Raleigh.

It is very strange and not a little entertaining to remark the implied expectation that the old Countess would not live for more than five years after the lease was drawn up. It is a proof that the Countesse's years had already extended long beyond the usual period, or else why should such a unique clause be found in a lease?

The manor of Inchiquin was once the property of Lord Ponsonby and among his muniments is the copy of a subsequent lease of Sir Walter Raleigh's of another part of the manor, in which the rights of the Old Countess are equally recognised, but with the same implied certainty that her life was not to extend beyond 1593, if indeed so long. The second lease is made out to one Robert Reve and Alice, his wife, and it is worded in almost exactly the same way as the lease to John Clever. Katherine is referred to as "ye Lady Cattalyn oulde Countess Dowager of Desmond, Widdowe." Robert Reve was to find from "time to time after the decease of the said Countess and after the end of the said year of our Lord God, which shall be one thousand five hundred four score and thirteen, a light horseman and furniture serviceable, to serve the said Sir Walter Raleigh and his heirs, in the affairs of the Crown of England, or otherwise in defence of the country against private or public enemies."

One is inclined to wonder what Sir Walter and John

Clever and Robert Reve felt and said when the five years had elapsed and Katherine was still alive and enjoying the best of health and strength, if we are to believe tradition.

Inchiquin remained in the hands of Sir Walter until December, 1602, when he conveyed it among the rest of his Munster property for £1,500 to Sir Richard Boyle, afterwards the Great Earl of Cork of whom we shall hear more in a later chapter.

In the Calendar of the Patent Rolls of Ireland of James I., printed by the record Commission, page 37, we have the enrolment of the deed of sale which runs as follows :—

“ CXXIV.—41 Deed dated 7th Dec. 1602, 45th Eliz : between Sir Walter Raleigh Knt, Captain of the Queen’s Guard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries in Devon and Cornwall Co<sup>s</sup> and Governor of Jersey isle and castle, and Richard Boyle, esq., Clerk of the Council in Munster, being a native of England, whereby Sir Walter in consideration of £500 Eng. before hand paid, £500 to be paid at Michaelmas 1603, and £500 to be paid at Easter 1604, demised to said Boyle the lands following.” Then among the list of lands given, the old Countess’s property is mentioned as being leased to John Clever, Gent. Before this deed was finished Sir Walter was attainted for treason against James I. and committed to the Tower, which rendered the transaction with Boyle questionable. The latter then wisely took further assurance of his purchase by paying 1,000 to the Crown, thereby obtaining a grant

straight from the King.\* This grant is dated 10th May, 22nd of James I. (1604), and commences by mentioning the barony Manor and Castle of Inchiquin. Now 1604 is one of the dates tradition says that Katherine being dispossessed of her jointure lands wrongfully, went to London to try and obtain justice and restitution. There is a certain amount of reason to suppose that the astute and business like Boyle may have refused to recognise the rights of the old jointuress, and on coming into possession of Inchiquin evicted her from her home. On the other hand, if one takes into consideration the leases to John Clever and Robert Reve, the Countess would appear to have held her jointure by publicly acknowledged legal right and not by sufferance and generosity. However, who can say, for was it not the days of tyranny and oppression ? and Boyle was a wily man, backed up by Government, and Katherine but a weak, defenceless old woman, whose near kinsmen were dead, or living under a cloud. However, she had no intention, if tradition speaks true, of tamely submitting to injustice, and despite her years, her dauntless spirit takes her to London, where, in the presence of her Sovereign, she recounts the tale of her wrongs. The evidence for the absolute truth of this visit to England is not reliable, and the little we have is inaccurate and contradictory as to the right date, some speak of it as occurring in the reign of Elizabeth and others in the reign of King James, as may be seen by the inscription under the old Countess's portrait facing page 44 ;

\* See Calendar Irish Patent Rolls, James I., Grant from the King to Sir Richard Boyle, Kt.

the date there given is 1614, an altogether impossible date. These are the exact words of the inscription :—

“ Katherine, Countesse of Desmonde, as she appeared at ye Court of Our Sovereign Lord King James in thys preasent yeare A.D. 1614, and in ye 140th yeare of her age. Thither she came from Bristol to seek relief, ye House of Desmonde having been ruined by attainder. She was married in ye Reigne of King Edward IV., and in ye course of her long Pilgrimage renewed her Teeth Twice. Her principal residence is at Inchiquin, in Munster, whither she undauntedly proposeth (her purpose accomplished) incontinentlie to return.” So much for the inscription, but now the question is, could these words have been a later forgery painted under the picture from hearsay, and, therefore, not the contemporaneous testimony they purport to be? If so, it is possible that 1614 may have been an historical blunder, an anachronism. The authority from which the writer of the inscription may have taken his information concerning the date of Katherine’s appearance at the English Court, possibly recorded it as taking place in “the IIInd James I.,” and the figure was later on mistaken for “the IIIt James I.” It is a difficult question, and only those who have made historical researches, know how full of errors and discrepancies old manuscripts and pedigrees are apt to be. Sometimes, two totally conflicting accounts are given of the same incident by different writers, and the puzzle is to find anything approaching the truth. In everyday life one meets people with unmathematical minds who jump to wild and impossible conclusions concerning dates and

historical happenings, and perchance the writer of the inscription beneath Katherine's portrait belong to this class. If he had but delayed to count the years, he would have seen that if Katherine had been 140 in 1614, and had been married before 1483 (the year of Edward's IV.'s death), her wedding must have taken place when she was six or eight years old, a most unlikely thing, as early marriages were not the custom in Ireland in the fifteenth century. We have proof, too, that she died in 1604 in a reliable pedigree, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who published his history of the world in 1614, speaks of Katherine as though she were already dead.

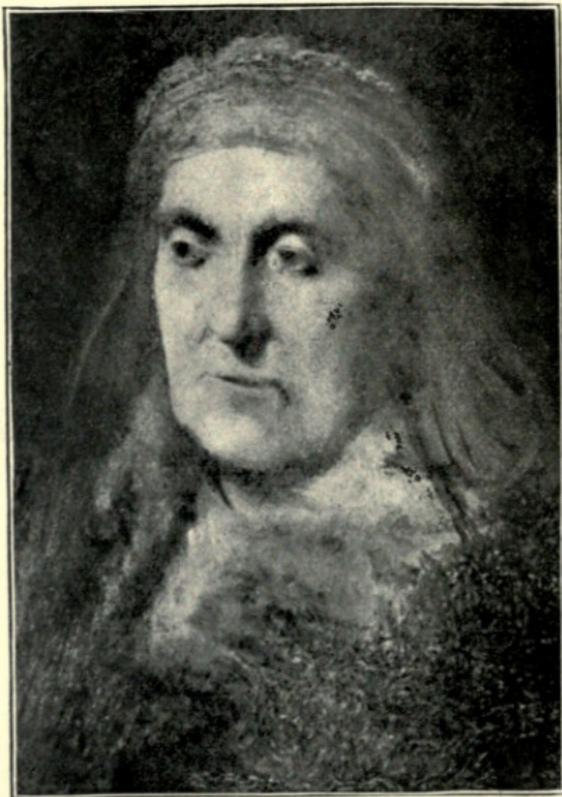
If Katherine did come to England, it very likely was in 1604, when Raleigh's lands were finally acquired by Sir Richard Boyle, and it is not unnatural to suppose that the exertion and excitement of her visit to Court was too much for our old heroine, and that she died shortly after her return to Ireland.

Lord Leicester, writing in 1640, would have us believe otherwise, but one must not attach too much credence to gossip written so long after the event. Gossip is hardly fact, though we all admit that there is generally some stratum of truth mixed up with the gossip, and so we give Lord Leicester's mention of our Countess for what it is worth. He says :\* “The old Countess of Desmond was a marryed woman in Edw. IV's time of

\* From the table Book of Robert Sydney, second Earl of Leicester, written when Ambassador at Paris about 1640, page 71.

The original MS. of the Earl is at Penshurst Castle, Kent, and is believed not to have been published, but in the British Museum's additional MSS. is a volume of extracts from it, made by Dr. Birch about 1746, and in one, reference is made to our heroine.





[*Portrait at Dromana.*]

THE OLD COUNTESS OF DESMOND.

England, and lived till towards the end of Q. Elizabeth, so as she must needs be neare 140 yeares old. She had a new sett of teeth not long afore her death, and might have lived much longer had she not mett with a kinde of violent death: for she would needs climbe a nut tree, to gather nuts, so falling down she hurt her thigh, which brought a fever and that fever brought death, This my cosin, Walter Fitz William told me.

"This old lady, Mr. Harriott told me, came to petition the queen, and landing at Bristoll she came on foot to London, being then so old that her daughter was decrepit, and not able to come with her, but was brought in a little cart; theyr poverty not allowing meanes for better provision: and, as I remember, Sir Walter Rawleigh, in some part of his story speaks of her, and sayth that he saw her in England in anno 1589. Her death was strange and remarkable as her long life was, having seen the death of so many descended of her, and both her own and her husband's home ruined in the rebellion and wars."

This account of Katherine is decidedly inaccurate, especially the quotation from Sir Walter Raleigh's History. Lord Leicester remembers to have read, and his memory was evidently not to be relied upon. He knows that Sir Walter mentions the date 1589, and supposes it was the date when "he saw her in England." As a matter of fact Sir Walter was in Ireland that year, being Mayor of Youghal at the time. But though Lord Leicester was wrong as to the date, he may not have been entirely wrong as to the visit to Court, nor as to Katherine's mode of travelling.

The “decrepit” daughter was Katherine’s only child. As has been already mentioned, she and Sir Thomas never had a son, nothing is known about the daughter except that she married one Philip Barry Oge. If it was true that she was alive at this period of her mother’s life she must have been an extremely old lady too.

Perhaps there may be a certain amount of truth in the story that Katherine must “needes climbe a nut tree, to gather nuts ; so falling down she hurt her thigh, which brought fever, and that fever death,” for curiously enough throughout all the country-side about Youghal and Dromana there is a similar tradition except that a cherry tree is substituted for a nut tree. One author \* says “That she lived to much more than a hundred and ten, and was killed by a fall from a cherry tree, then.”

In the demesne at Dromana there are many cherry trees, planted in the first instance by Sir Walter Raleigh, who introduced them from foreign climes. As children we were always shown one particularly gnarled old cherry tree, and told that it was one of the original ones planted by Sir Walter, and the very one from which the old Countess fell. I always think a certain amount of truth attaches itself to legendary lore, and it would after all not be unnatural to suppose that the cherry being a novelty (for the tree could only have been planted some twenty years before), the old lady desired to taste of the new fruit, even as our first mother Eve did, and,

\* Moore.

therefore, tried to help herself to some of it with fatal results.

To account for her presence at Dromana is not difficult, for was it not the place of her birth, and was not John Fitz Gerald the then owner of Dromana, her own grand-nephew. Inchiquin and Dromana were only some twenty miles apart, and the river Blackwater, flowing between Youghal and Dromana, made the journey both practicable and easy. Besides, what was a journey of twenty miles to such a venturesome traveller as Katherine, who had not so long before actually come on foot from Bristol to London.

Lord Leicester probably found his information concerning Katherine's "new sett of teeth" in a book of travel, published by Fynes Moryson in 1617, and from a notice of our heroine in Lord Bacon's "Historia Vitae et Mortes," published in 1623.

This is what Fynes Moryson says:—\* "The Irish report, and will sweare it, that towards the West, they have an Iland, wherein the inhabitants live so long, as when they are weary and burthened with life, their children in charity bring them to die upon the shoare of Ireland, as if their Iland would not permit them to die. In our time the Irish Countesse of Desmond lived to the age of about 140 yeares, being able to goe on foote foure or five miles to the Market Towne, and using weekly so to doe in her last yeeres, and not many yeeres before shee died, shee had all her teeth renewed."

\* "Fynes Moryson, his Ten Yeeres' Travel," etc., folio, London, 1617, Part III., Book I., Chap. III., page 43.

Now, Fynes Moryson had every opportunity of hearing direct news about the old Countess, for he visited Ireland in 1613, the year his brother, Sir Richard Moryson, was Vice-President of Munster. We even know he landed at Youghal, for he himself describes how he "was miraculously preserved from shipwreck outside the "Harbour of Yoghall" while trying to land on the Irish coast.

Lord Bacon makes a very slight mention of Katherine in talking of longevity among the Irish. He says :— "The Irish, particularly those who live in the country, even now, are very long lived. They say for certain that within these few years the Countess of Desmond lived to her 140<sup>th</sup> year, and cast her teeth three times. But it is a custom with the Irish, placing themselves naked before a fire, to rub, and as it were season, their bodies with old salt butter."

It is a curious notion that people can prolong their lives by rubbing their bodies with "old salt butter." It may possibly have been an ancient receipt, now fallen into disuse, and I fear it will never be revived by this over-fastidious generation.

In another work, "Sylva Sylvarum, or a Natural History in Ten Centuries," published in 1627, Bacon again says :—"They tell a tale of the old Countess of Desmond, who lived till she was seven score years old, that she did dentire twice or thrice, casting her old teeth and other coming in their place."

On the whole one may judge from these various sources of information that the Old Countess did live to the

alleged age of 140 years, vigorous in body and mind to the end, and that she had at least one more set of teeth than is generally granted to the ordinary run of mortals, unless, of course, they resort to a dentist.\*

Her visit late in life to the English Court may possibly be a fable, as there is not much evidence to support the tradition ; on the other hand, the story of the way she came by her death is much more likely to be true.

The two pictures published in this book of the old Countess have generally been considered authentic likenesses.

The one facing page 37 is the property of Mr. Villiers Stuart and is at Dromana now, where it has been, in all probability, since the time it was painted. It is a curious picture, an oil painting on wood, and the face strikes one as being very remarkable and interesting.

Her picture facing page 44, with the inscription beneath, is now at St. Ann's Clontarf, and belongs to Lord Ardilaun. If the two pictures are carefully compared one can see a resemblance in the features, though they differ in detail. They both portray a very old and high-bred face, with calm, clever, penetrating eyes, a touch of hauteur in their glance. In both pictures we may see the same clear-cut, sensitive nose, the same firm mouth and chin. The old Countess wears a heavy hood in the portrait owned

\* In the life of Thomas Parr, mention is made that while staying with the Earl of Arundel he was introduced "to the celebrated Countess of Desmond, to whom it is believed Parr gave a supply of the medicine by which he maintained his vigour to such an extreme period of life; and this is extremely probable, as the Countess lived to the amazing age of 145 years."

by Lord Ardilaun, and something more in the nature of a veil in the portrait at Dromana. In the first she wears a broad white collar unceasing the top of her fur cape, in the latter the fur cape comes right up to her neck. Horace Walpole makes mention of one\* or other of her portraits, and his words have been already quoted at the beginning of this chapter. He further in his "Historic Doubts," respecting crook-bac'd Richard, adduces the testimony of the old Countess to prove that instead of being deformed he was a "marvellous proper man," and that she must have known this because she "had danced with Richard, and declared that he was the handsomest man in the room except his brother Edward and was very well made." Where Walpole obtained this information is a question that must remain unanswered, but he certainly seems to believe that she made this declaration about Richard during her visit to the Court of James I.

Concerning the exact year of Katherine's death we have undisputed evidence quite apart from all conjecture or tradition. Sir George Carew, who was Governor of Munster towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, is one of the chief authorities we have for contemporary Irish pedigrees and dates and his MS. is carefully preserved at

\* There are a good number of other pictures in existence purporting to be authentic portraits of our Old Countess. There is one at Windsor Castle, and another at Duplin Castle in Scotland. The Duke of Devonshire also possesses her picture, with the words attached: "Countess of Desmond, who lived 140 years." Some of these may be spurious, but their existence proves what widespread attention our heroine's extraordinary longevity attracted throughout the three Kingdoms.

Lambeth Library. Number 626 of the MS. gives us the following information :—

Fitz Gerald L : of  
the Decye.  
James Fitz-Gerald  
Er : of Desmond

Thomas Fitz James  
E. of Desmond, behea-  
ded at Drogheda  
1467 : 7 : Ed 4.

Tho  
Erle  
of Des-  
mond  
buried  
at Phyal  
(Youghal)  
1534.

Katherine  
ma : to Thomas  
Fitz Thomas Er :  
of Desmond : 3 son  
to Thomas Er : of  
Desmond beheaded  
att Drogheda. She  
died in ano 1604.

Further on in the Carew's MS. (No. 629 and 635) there is another mention of Katherine as follows :—" Katheren D. of Sir John Fitz Gerald ma : to Thomas Fitz Tho E of Desmond " with the note "*she lived in A 1604,*" corrected in a memorandum afterwards to "*she died in Ano 1604.*"

At the British Museum in the Harleian MS., No. 1425, there is another mention of Katherine as follows :—

	Folio 42.	
Thomas 9th Earl of Desmond beheaded at Drogheda.		
Katheren, da to Thos fitz Tho : the 13th E of Desmond = Gilis or		
L of Dercie	ol 1534, 28 H 8 buried at	
(i.e. Decies)	Youghal	
		Shole da to Cormock oge Cartie Lord of Muskrie.
(John Bastard)		
Katheren, ma ;	Maurice Fitz Thomas, died before his father.	
Barrie Oge.		
	James Fitz Maurice, 14 Earl of Demond slain 1540, buried at Youghal.	

John Fitz Gaerald  
Lord of Doyle  
(i.e. Decies).

Garrald Fitz John  
Lord of Dolie  
(i.e. Decies)

Henry Fitz Garrald  
slain in rebellion.

Folio 45.

Katheren,  
da :

Katheren, ma : to Tho Fitz Tho  
E. of Desmond, 3 sonne to  
Tho: E. of Desmond, be headed  
at Drogheda. She lived in  
A° 1604.

The Harleian MS. is not in Sir George Carew's handwriting, though compiled from his MSS., and there are blunders therein arising from the writer being ignorant of Irish names, and unable to decipher Carew's crabbed writing. We have an antiquary's \* word for it that "lived in 1604" was a mere error of transcript for "died in 1604," lived and died if written carelessly and indistinctly are easily mistaken one for the other.

Sir George Carew wrote his Pedigrees about 1615, when he could easily have ascertained whether the Old Countess was alive or not.

Thus do the dry details concerning Katherine's death written in musty parchments, and the more picturesque description of the way she came by that death detailed in legendary lore, bring us to the end of her story. Her ashes doubtless rest in Youghal Church, where her husband had been buried seventy years before her, and where many of her kinsfolk at Dromana have also found a last resting-place. There we must leave her, and say good-bye to the venerable lady, who, with the aid of pen and pencil, I have tried to bring to life once more in the foregoing pages.

\* John Gough Nicholls, Esq., F.S.A.



[*Portrait in possession of Lord Ardilaun.*]  
THE OLD COUNTESS OF DESMOND.

To face page 44.



### CHAPTER III.

#### Dromana at the time of the Tudors.

DURING Katherine's long life the home of her childhood had changed hands several times. When her father, John Fitzgerald died about 1534, Dromana passed to her brother Gerald (he died 1553), then to her two nephews Maurice and James, who died one in 1572 and the other ten years later, and then Dromana passed to her two grand-nephews, Gerald who died in 1600, and John, who died in 1620.

Of John, her father, we do not know much. He lived in very troubled times and had some difficulty in keeping his patrimony out of the rapacious clutches of his kinsmen, the Earls of Desmond, who always kept an envious eye on the rich property owned by a collateral branch of the family. I expect, too, the condition under which Dromana was held lead to many abuses and disagreements. The condition was that the head of the Desmond family should always have the right of quartering himself and his men-at-arms in Dromana for six weeks every year, and it was particularly stipulated that he was to quarter himself in the Chief's house and not in those of the tenants.

It was easy to picture that this condition would lead to many quarrels, and that it did is shown by the following oddly spelt letter addressed by John to King Henry VIII. of England in the year 1528.\* The letter runs thus:—

“ To the King my Sovereign Lord,

Ryght hie and myghty and my singuler and gracious prynce, I humblie recommend my unto your noble grace.

It (                 ) the same that according to your graciouse last letter send unto my, I have not onlye suffered gret harmes done by the Earl of Desmond † unto my tenants, but have as well sacked with my pusance the manor of Dungarvan as others, and to my grette costs and damages contenualie unto the tyme we driven the sayd Erle unto the mayn se yn sertyn Englyshe vessels the which have landed at Youghall with as gret a company as he might cary yn the sayd vesselles and fro then scape when he sawe his tyme, the mayr, Balyves & comenrs (the Mayor, bailiffs and commoners) of the same, yn as suche as I am the next neighebre havyng perfitt knowledge of ther secrets, trustyng that (your) grace wyll regard my record yn that behalfe, have desyred me for to enforme your Grace of the trouthe of the same, wher upon I advertise your said Grace that the sayd Erle came scudenlie at full see unto the sayd towne by yngnorancye and symplenesse that the watergatt was not fast, and not soffred by the good wyll of the sayd enhabytanses, afterward afirmyng the same by the suffrance of

\* This letter is preserved in the Irish correspondence Public Record Office, London.

† James, Twelfth Earl, who died in 1529.

Jamy Butler, Cormok oge and my, with others of your adherents, unto the sadd Toune, puting us yn suffycientt surance to by faythfull and trywe unto your Grace for iver, gyving not onlie noe maner suportation nor secor unto the sayd Erl, but all so wyll envade him to ther power : wherfor I humbly desyre and pray your Sayd noble Grace for to pardon the sayd enhabytances of ther offences hider to, and wyl by borne of ther forsayd fydelite by the wycke I doubt not shortlye to sye the said Erle is envacion and the moe for the ( ) of the sayd enhabytanes by the grace of God, whom I pray enstantlie to send your Grace victory of all your enemyse.—Wrytten at my Maner of Dromany the XXIII of February the XIX yer of your noble reyne.

Your faythfull Subject and ( ) to his powr

Sir John Fitz Gerald, Knight."

This letter gives one an insight into the warlike state of Ireland in those days, and in truth it must have been an unpleasant place to live in. It was described as a cave of robbers "where is neither peace, love, nor concord, but only treasons and the foulest deeds." The heads of the House of Desmond had a good deal to do with keeping the South of Ireland in a ferment, for besides the hereditary quarrels with the Ormonds, they as often as not took up arms against the Crown of England. The Dromana branch of the family on the contrary nearly always remained loyal to England from which policy they benefited not a little.

John, we learn, paid out his kinsman in part for the loss of his cattle and farm houses, by watching his

opportunity and shutting up Desmond in Dungarvan. After much fighting, Desmond thought it prudent to take to the sea with forty men and so sailed to Youghal upon the flood tide. This Earl had certainly an adventurous spirit for he collected 20,000 Irishmen who, under his auspices, landed in Pembrokeshire (that little England beyond Wales whence the ancestors of the Geraldines had first sailed for Ireland), and spread themselves about the country between St. David's and Tenby, living chiefly by trade and piracy. Desmond also sought to ally himself with Spain and France with a view of flouting England, but his efforts did not have much result. His death, which took place 1529, put an end to all John Fitz Gerald's troubles, for the next Earl of Desmond was no less a person than Thomas, the husband of the long-lived Katherine and therefore son-in-law to John, and it is not surprising to learn, as we did in the preceding chapter, that one of the first uses Thomas made of his power, as head of the family, was to confirm the grant of the Decies property to his father-in-law and his heirs afterwards.

When John died, his son Gerald inherited Dromana. In his time there were also wars and rumours of wars, but he, too, seems to have sided with the English. In 1535, the Lord Deputy (Lord Leonard Grey) set sail for England leaving behind him his company of 100 men, under a Welsh officer named Parry, who had orders to attach himself to Lord Butler. When Parry and his men entered the Ormonde district they were well received everywhere. Thomas Butler, a man of great local influence, who had married one of Ormond's daughters (he

was afterwards created Lord Cahir), met the troops at Clonmel, and led them over the mountains to Dungarvan. He spoke very good English, says Parry,\* and made himself most agreeable. Gerald Fitz Gerald of Dromana joined them on the road. He, as well as Butler, was son-in-law to Lord Ormonde, for he had married his daughter Ellen. Parry says of Gerald—"This gentleman could not speak a word of English, but he was very civil, professed great loyalty, and bound himself by hostages to act under the advice of the Council."

I conclude Gerald kept his word, though I don't think his loyalty went very deep, because three years after the foregoing episode, when Sir John Alen, the Lord Chancellor, was holding assizes or councils in various towns in the South, and Gerald was summoned to appear at the Clonmel assizes, he neglected to do so. Instead he and the rest of the Desmond faction sent only "frivolous, false and feigned excuses, not consonant with their allegiance." Gerald himself argued that he held his property from the Desmonds, and chose to ignore altogether "his tenure of the royal honour of Dungarvan." Meanwhile, in the absence of Gerald and the White Knight and various other luminaries who had failed to put in an appearance, the council, after much pressing, persuaded the inhabitants of Wexford, Waterford, Kilkenny and Tipperary, to consent to pay a yearly subsidy to the King in 100 marks for Wexford and fifty for each of the other three.

\* Stephen Ap Parry to Cromwell, Oct. 6., 1535.

"This \* source of revenue was quite new, and the Council were very proud of inventing it; but they confessed to doubts of its substantial value, especially in Waterford, where Sir Gerald, Lord of the Decies, had power to pay or to withhold."

When Gerald's brother-in-law, Thomas, Eighteenth Earl of Desmond, died, he thought it prudent to acknowledge Thomas's grandson, James, as rightful Earl, so in 1539 we read of his going to Thurles to make his submission. This James had been brought up at the Court of Henry VIII., so that in spite of there being several other claimants to the Earldom he was backed up by Royal favour and sent over to Ireland with a large retinue. This, however, did not prevent his being shortly afterwards murdered near Fermoy by his rival's brother, who had earned for himself the title of "Maurice of the Burnings."

Some years before this Henry VIII. had thrown off his allegiance to the Pope of Rome, and this contributed not a little to keeping up a rebellious feeling in Ireland. The priests preached daily "that every man ought for the salvation of his soul, fight and make war against our sovereign lord the King's Majesty and his true subjects ; and if any of them which so fight against his said Majesty or his subjects die in the quarrel, his soul that

\* See "Ireland under the Tudors," by Richard Bagwell.  
Note.—As a great part of the material for this chapter was gleaned from the above valuable work, I have thought it would be tedious to the reader to mention the source of every separate quotation. So, unless it is otherwise stated, it may be inferred that the information throughout this chapter has been supplied by Mr. Bagwell's "Ireland under the Tudors."

so shall be dead shall go to heaven as the soul of St. Peter, Paul and others, which suffered death and martyrdom for God's sake."

This was just the sort of teaching to influence the excitable and easily moved Irish people. Nevertheless, some sort of peace was patched up, and in 1541 Henry VIII. was proclaimed King of Ireland in the Irish Parliament. In the year following the Council were able to make the strange announcement that Ireland was at peace.

The reigning Earl of Desmond went in person to England to swear fealty to the King, and was received with much fervour. "With a view to establishing order in those portions of Munster under Desmond's influence," says the historian, "St. Leger (the Lord Deputy) visited Cork, where the notables readily obeyed his call. They abjured the Pope, and agreed to refer all differences to certain-named arbitrators. Henceforth no one was to take the law into his own hands, but to complain to Desmond and to the Bishops of Cork, Waterford, and Ross. Difficult cases were to be referred to the Lord Deputy and Council, and legal points reserved for qualified commissioners, whom the King was to send into Munster at Easter and Michaelmas. This was part of a scheme for establishing circuits in the southern provinces, but it was very imperfectly carried out during this and the three succeeding reigns. The state of the country seldom admitted of peaceful assizes, and martial law was too often necessary. The Munster gentry now promised to keep the peace, and to exact no black-rents from Cork or

other towns. The Anglo-Norman element was represented by Lord Barrymore and his kinsmen Barry Roe and Barry Oge, by Lord Roche, and by Sir Gerald Fitz Gerald of Dromana. The Irish parties to the contract were Mac Carthy More, Mac Carthy Reagh, Mac Carthy of Muskerry, Mac Donoughe Mac Carthy of Duhallow, O'Callaghan and O'Sullivan Beare."

It cannot be said that Henry VIII. encouraged his Irish subjects to keep their promises, for in order to pay his own debts he tried to confiscate the improvements of the tenants by taking back royal grants that he had made; he also neglected to pay the soldiers. St. Leger himself, like every other Deputy, grew heartily sick of Ireland, and beseeched the King in a letter "to remember your slave, that hath now been three years in hell," which observation is scarce flattering to poor Ireland. Henry and his statesmen might have had more success in Ireland had England remained in communion with Rome. There was no chance of the native Irish embracing the new doctrines, and by upsetting the whole ecclesiastical structure. Henry left the field clear for Jesuits and wandering Friars, who naturally and invariably preached disloyalty to England, as has been already shown. During the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary, Munster continued to be very unsettled, the coasts were infested by pirates, who did their best to ruin all the trade, and some of the Fitz Geralds, too, who had lost their lands turned free-booters and ravaged the country inland.

The Earl of Sussex in Mary's reign proved rather a successful Lord Deputy. He restored the old religion,

and governed to the best of his ability. We read of him in 1558 going to Waterford to receive the homage of Gerald, son of James XIV<sup>th</sup> Earl of Desmond, who had just succeeded to the splendid but troublesome inheritance of the Southern Geraldines. The Lord Deputy admitted him to the Earldom and also knighted him. The young Earl promised fair and seemed inclined to be loyal. On the same occasion his kinsman, Sir Maurice Fitz Gerald of Decies,\* who, says the historian, “ruled about one-half of the county of Waterford, also made his submission, promising to obey the law and make others obey it, to give his help to all judges, commissioners, and tax-gatherers, and to secure free admission for all to the markets at Waterford, Dungarvan and elsewhere.” Sir Maurice showed his wisdom in siding with the Government, and when trouble overtook him later on he was the gainer by this policy. He had become Lord of the Decies on the death of his father, Sir Gerald, in 1553. Maurice, I imagine, was a better educated man than his father, he spoke and wrote English, he was enlightened and quite far-sighted enough to see in which direction his best interests lay. His mother was Lady Ellen Butler, daughter of Piers VII<sup>th</sup> Earl of Ormonde, and he profited not a little from the power this connection gave him.

The followers of the Earl of Desmond and the Earl of Ormonde at this time were fighting between themselves as usual, nor was there any love lost between the two

\* Sir Maurice was closely connected with this Earl, having married his aunt, Lady Ellen Fitz Gerald, daughter of John XIV<sup>th</sup> Earl of Desmond, who died 1536, and grand-daughter to the famous Earl Thomas who had been beheaded at Drogheda.

Chiefs. Ormonde had been brought up in England. He was a personal favourite with the Queen, and seemed anxious to live the life of a civilized nobleman. However, all his efforts at reformation were nullified by the attitude of Desmond who continued to live like a wild and barbarous chief, ravaging the country and exacting "coyne and livery." At length events reached a climax. In the year 1565, Desmond, who some eight years before had been peaceably knighted at Waterford, in company with his kinsman Sir Maurice suddenly chose to declare that the same Sir Maurice was a subordinate Irish Chief liable to the payment of various dues and exactions to the head of the family. Maurice refused to pay, claiming that he held his estates from the Crown by feudal tenure (to suit his own ends, Maurice's father had claimed just the contrary on a former occasion.) \* Desmond, however, refused to listen to this reasoning, and intimated that he was coming to Dromana to distrain Sir Maurice's cattle. So Maurice "hering tell that Th' Erle of Desmond wold come into his countrey, he sent a letter to Th' Erle of Ormonde requiring his Lordship according to his old frendecessippe formerly extended towards him to come and carry away his cattell into the same Erle of Ormond's contrey to be salf kepte." Ormonde hearing that Desmond was mustering a large force, agreed to help Sir Maurice who was "his neere cosen." Ormonde had reason to believe that the attack on Dromana was only part of the object of Desmond's warlike preparations, and that an attack on Tipperary was also meditated. There-

\* See page 49.

fore he led a force from Clonmel and encamped at Knocklofty, near the foot of the mountain pass leading to Sir Maurice's country. Here another messenger of "Sir Morris Fytze Garrettz" come to him with a letter from his master requesting him to be "so moche his good Lord as to repaire into his countrye and to healpe him to conducte his cattell savelye under his rule, for he had perfytte understandinge that my L. of Desmonde was determinede to destroy and spoyle his countrye, therefore he hadd gatherede all his cattell of his countrye to his howsse callede Dromannoghe wheare theye shulde remane untyll he harde from his L., humbly requestinge him to releve him, beinge his poore bondsman, as he hadde often tymes donne before." "And so apon the same my L. of Ormonde repared towards Sr. Morrys his countrye having in his companye to attende upon him, not passinge a houndreth horsse and thre houndreth footemen or there abowtes and not knowinge at all of my L. of Desmondes beinge in Sr. Morrys his countrye entredde but the same daye, and so my Lord of Ormonde's horsses being wery restede apon a hill within thre myles of Sr. Morris his howsse, and a horsseman belonginge to my L. of Desmonde having knowledge thereof came to him and secretly informed him of the same, and my L. of Desmonde toke the same verrye joyfullye, and asked the messingr wheather my L. of Ormonde was there himselfe and he said 'no.' Then said my L. of Desmonde 'Lett us go apon them for they ayr but yong boyes and rascally, and we shall take them grazinge their horses.'"

Meanwhile Sir Maurice was having an agitating time,

for Desmond had already set fire to his houses, stolen and killed sixty head of cattle, and sent to Dungarvan for wine. Maurice describes how one of his servants "being on the top of his own dwelling castell saw Th' Erle of Desmond's host about a myle or more of, comminge towards the castell" and how "Lord Power and one of the Captens of the gallowglass of th' Erle of Desmond's came from Th' Erle of Desmounde to make demaunde of hym to do service to the said Erle." Maurice's reply was "that he was willing to abide by the order of the Lord Justice and Council, or by the award of four lawyers, two to be chosen by either side, and that he would give "suche right touchinge his demaundes as ever eny of his ancestors have beforetyme donne." Upon request made by Lord Power Maurice "went with him to have spoken to the said Erle," who, however, hearing his kinsman's answer, refused to see him, insisting that all must be left to the decision of "his own Judge," who would be also his own partisan. Sir Maurice declined this proposal and rode home again, but presently "with two horsemen and a dozen fotemen issued out of his castell to a certyne hill, distant a quarter of a myle from th' Erle of Desmond's hoste to viewe the said hoste (having the water between them)." From thence he was spectator to events that were moving to a fateful issue. Ormond and his men having rested and refreshed themselves, quietly continued their way to Dromana, ignorant of Desmond's near presence. They made for the ford over the river Phinisk at Affane. Meanwhile Desmond, who had made up his mind to

attack them, sent on his foot soldiers in advance, who met Ormonde's host at the cross-roads. However, no collision took place till Desmond saw his hated rival and spurred towards him, and some of his men discharged their pieces. Ormonde still seems to have been unwilling to fight, but when actually charged, the Butlers stood on their defence, and then both sides "fought together very resolutely, needing no other exhortation to invite them to fight more than malice and mutual hatred one to the other." The camp was at a place called Bewley. Three hundred of Desmond's men fell, and, seeing the day lost, he "gave a violent charge into Ormonde's battayle of horse, wherein being far entered, and haveine fewe about him, he was overthrowne from his horse by Sir Edmund Butler, Ormonde's brother, who brake his thigh with a shott from his pistol," and took him prisoner. When the Butlers were bearing him on their shoulders from the field, one of them tauntingly asked—"Where is now the great Earl of Desmond?" "On the necks of Butlers, where he ought to be," was his ready and witty reply. "Desmond afterwards said that many of his people tried to escape by swimming the Blackwater, where they were intercepted by armed boats. These, in all probability, belonged to Sir Maurice, who, however, did not take any personal share in the fight. He was summoned to Waterford shortly after to attend an inquiry which was being held there to look into the affair of the battle of Affane. The authorities, it would appear, took up the matter very seriously. The Queen was very angry, as she had declared that no sword but hers should be drawn.

The battle of Affane is said to be the last battle fought on English or Irish ground in which two noblemen, without any commission, made private war on each other.

"The inquiry at Waterford continued for some time, but no very definite results were obtained,\* interrogatories were administered to the Earls of Ormonde and Desmond, Sir Maurice Fitz Gerald, and Lord Power and others. Presently the Queen summoned both Earls to London, where the inquiry continued." Desmond was accompanied by MacCarthy More and O'Sullivan Beare, who wrote to Cecil from Liverpool for travelling expenses. Ormonde was accompanied by Sir Maurice Fitz Gerald of Dromana, whose evidence went to show that no trap had been laid by Black Ormonde for the Earl of Desmond,† that Ormonde went to Affane to protect Fitz Gerald's cattle. Fitz Gerald on his own account petitions the Queen against the imposition and exactions of Desmond on the Decies country, "which he holds in fee from the Queen only." Sir Maurice must have made a good impression on the Queen, for on 18th July, 1568,‡ she gave him the title of Baron of Affane (as a momento of the battle, perhaps), and in the following year she created him Baron of Dromana and Viscount Decies. These titles descended to Sir Maurice's second brother James, then to his nephew Gerald, who died without children. The Decies property

\* The foregoing description of the battle of Affane has been partly taken from the answers to the "interrogatories" and the correspondence concerning the affray, which are still preserved in the Public Record Office (State Papers, Ireland, Eliz. Vol. XII.).

† "History of Cork," Gibson.

‡ The date of Sir Maurice's elevation to the Barony has been taken from an MS. pedigree in the Irish Academy.

then went to John, the son of Sir Maurice's third brother Gerald, but the title lapsed, and he sought vainly to have it renewed in his favour. This visit to London was most probably Sir Maurice's first experience of English life, and one would like to know what impression it made on him. England must have seemed wonderfully luxurious and comfortable when contrasted with Ireland, which was uncivilised and uncultured to a degree difficult to realise. The peasants lived like savages and were scantily clothed. "The chieftains," Campion says, "have now left off their saffron and learn to wash their shirts four or five times a year." It had been the custom to wear saffron-coloured shirts so that the dirt should not show! The Irish gentlemen's only amusement beyond fighting appears to have been drinking. Fynes Moryson says that "when they come to any market town to sell a cow or horse, they never return home until they have drunk the price in Spanish wine or Irish usquebagh (whiskey) and until they have outslept two or three days' drunkenness. And not only the common sort, but even the Lords and their wives, the more they want this drink at home, the more they swallow it when they come to it, till they be as drunk as beggars!" The idea of the lords' wives drinking, too, points to a very degraded state of society. It is difficult to picture to oneself the Irish ladies of those days. Did they sew and embroider and learn Latin like their English sisters? If they did it must have been in rare cases. Their ideas of dress were rudimentary. They wore a loose mantle out of doors, but laid it aside in the house, "and this cloak," says the writer just quoted, "is often

an excuse for wearing nothing else.” Beds and bedclothes were the exception rather than the rule. It is said that people dipped themselves in cold water before sleeping, and then wrapped their cloaks round them so that the steam from their bodies kept them warm all night. “The whole household lay in a semicircle round the fire on the floor of a room not so good or handsome,” says an English writer, “as many a hogscote in England, and when they rise in the morning they shake their ears and go their ways, without any serving of God or making of them ready.”

Truly a telling and humorous description of the times. English sovereigns laid great stress on the influence of dress in civilizing the wild Irish and bringing them into a state of subjection. Queen Elizabeth, with all a woman’s tact, endeavoured to suppress two rebellions, that of Turlough O’Neill, in Ulster, and of Garrett, Earl of Desmond, in Munster, by making their wives presents of handsome gowns. The Queen imagined it would add to the favour to send dresses she had worn herself. When the gowns (which were to be presented by the Chancellor) came to hand, they were found “to be slobbered in the front breadth.” These were replaced by new material, and the dresses presented in due form. We learn that after this “the Countess of Desmond greatly disapproved of her husband’s disloyal conduct. Her gown was of cloth of gold.”\*

One wonders if Sir Maurice brought his wife a dress

\* “History of Cork.”

from England, and if she was glad to see him and eager to hear stories about the Queen and Court ? I don't suppose he had much time to spare for the joys of domesticity for the country round him was very disturbed at this time. For one thing Sir John of Desmond, the Earl's brother, in revenge for the affair of the battle of Affane began to harry Sir Maurice's tenants, and did all in his power to make things unpleasant for the enemies of Desmond during that hero's detention in London. Finally, in 1566, things came to such a pass that Desmond was allowed to return to Ireland on condition that he was reconciled to Ormond and to Sir Maurice, and gave redress for the wrongs committed against the latter's tenants. Desmond did not behave well on his return, but continued to murder, raid and burn, till he was again arrested in 1567, and sent a prisoner to the Tower of London. Sir Henry Sydney tried to quiet Ireland in his absence, and himself visited every part of Munster. He found the county of Waterford much disturbed by the Power Kerne, who no longer allowed to live by coyne and livery had taken openly to rapine. He sent Lord Power to Dublin Castle in the hope of inducing his followers to amend their ways. He found that Sir Maurice's county contrasted favourably both with Lord Power's and with the Desmond territory beyond Youghal ; but it was said "that the chief was somewhat too ready to take law into his own hands." Indeed, who could blame him for doing so considering the spirit of the times ?

In 1569 there was a general rising in Cork, Waterford, and Kerry, which Sydney strove to put down with a firm

hand. “There were a few Irish noblemen who preserved their loyalty unsuspected during this rebellion, foremost among whom we may mention Lord Roche, the Lord Barry, and the historian adds, the Viscount Decies (the title under which Sir Maurice was now known) who, told the rebels to do their worst, that he would be a true servant of the Queen.” These sentiments would almost lead one to suppose that Queen Elizabeth must have sent his wife a dress, too !

With a view of stamping out the rebellion, Sydney marched through the White Knight’s country, took Mitchelstown Castle, pushed on to Cork, where he made the wavering citizens confirm their allegiance. He then visited the Mallow District and took Buttevant, which Lord Barrymore had mortgaged to Desmond. When he reached Limerick he heard from Ormond, saying he could not join him for want of convoy, so Lord Power and the Earl’s friend, Lord Decies, were sent to Kilkenny, and they brought him safe to the Lord Deputy at Limerick. We afterwards read that Ormond was slack in his service, and that Sydney was afraid of the Queen’s displeasure (Ormond was one of her favourites) if he entered Ormond’s country to do the work which he neglected. His brothers, too, were in open rebellion. Ireland certainly was a hard country to govern. In 1571 Sir John Perrott was sent over to try his hand at solving the Irish Question. He was a man of great vigour, some say he was a son of Henry VIII., at any rate he became quite as great an autocrat in character as the bluff king himself. He drove the poor Irish into the bogs, sacked

towns and castles, and put to death more than eight hundred persons. His chief enemy was Fitz Maurice, a nephew of the fifteenth Earl of Desmond, who had become a very bitter rebel. We read that on one occasion Fitz Maurice threatened to sack Youghal, and the incident is interesting to us because our hero, Sir Maurice (or Lord Decies) frustrated his designs by sending timely aid to the beleagured citizens. The rebellion continued till 1573, when Desmond was at length liberated from the Tower, and sent back to Ireland. He undertook to keep the Queen's peace generally, and in particular not to molest Lords Fitz Maurice of Kerry, Barrymore, Conroy, and Decies, or any of the Mac Carthies, O'Sullivans, and O'Callaghans.

Sir Maurice did not live to see the return of his old enemy, for he died in 1572, and Dromana became 157  
the property of his second brother, James.

Beyond the fact that he had married Ellen, daughter of Mac Carthy Reagh, very few details of James Fitz Gerald's life can be found, though now and then we hear his name mentioned by various historians in connection with the Desmond rebellion, which kept Munster in a state of unrest for many years.

Perrott, whose severities had brought a measure of peace to Ireland, had returned to England, and Desmond had things his own way for a time. He resumed the Irish dress, and was warmly welcomed everywhere, and all the Geraldines hastened to arms, "knowing no God nor Prince but the Earl, and no law but his behests." All sorts flocked to him, finding it easier and cheaper to

rob than to work and be robbed, and at one time the rabble who followed Desmond numbered more than 800, so that peaceable folk wished that they had accompanied Perrott to England or drowned themselves at his departure. One Englishman said that Irish colts could only be ridden with a sharp English bit, another suggested the Irish could be starved out by taking or destroying the herds, upon whose milk they fed. He added that there could not be a greater sacrifice to God.

In 1575 Sydney, who was Viceroy at this time, made a tour through Ireland. When he reached Waterford the historian describes how he stayed at Curraghmore with Lord Power, and how he found his country "comparable with the best ordered county in the English Pale; whereby a manifest and most certain proof may be conceived what benefit riseth both to the Prince, meane lord, and inferior subject, by suppressing of coyn and livery." He further adds the mortifying statement that Lord Power's neighbour, Sir James Fitz Gerald, of Dromana, who ruled a district four times as large, with the result of making it so waste "as it is not able to find competent food for a mean family in good order, yet are there harboured, and live more idle vagabond than good cattle bred." This allegation against Sir James makes one think he must have been a bad administrator, for his forebears had received praise on various occasions for the prosperity of the County under their rule. He was probably more a man of war than a man of business. We hear of him again in 1579. At this time Desmond had been finally proclaimed a traitor,

and he was in consequence quite reckless and desperate. One of his acts of recrimination was to sack Youghal and rob and kill the inhabitants. He burnt the houses and destroyed the walls, and he and his followers “remained about five daies, rifleing and carrieng awaie the goods and household stuff to the Castell of Strangecallie,\* and Lefinmen the which then were kept by the Spaniards.”

The Earl of Ormond (then Governor of Munster) dispatched a barque with Captain White from Waterford, “a very valiant man of a stout stomach,” to retake Youghal. He, however, was defeated and slain. Ormond then sent Zouch and Stanley by land on the same mission. On their way they had to pass the Castle of Strancally, and when the Spanish garrison saw them coming they “began to distrust themselves and to doubt of their abilitie how to withstand them.” Therefore, abandoning and forsaking the castle “they passed over the water to the Decies side of the river where they were very friendly welcomed in sight of the soldiers, for, it is added, though Sir James Fitz Gerald, of Dromana, was loyal, his followers preferred Desmond.”

\* The remains of the Castle of Strancally are situated on a high rock on the banks of the Blackwater, which is here of considerable breadth. From the foundations on which it stands stretched an extensive subterranean cave, with a passage communicating with the river cut through the solid rock. It was the custom of the Lords of Desmond to invite their wealthy and distinguished neighbours to partake of their hospitality at Strancally, and thus having got them into their power the victims were carried through the rocky passage into the dungeon where they were suffered to perish, and from thence through an opening which is still visible, their corpses were cast into the river; thus disposed of, their fortunes became an easy prey. The Government were at length warned by a prisoner who was lucky enough to escape, and the castle and cave were ordered to be destroyed by gunpowder. (“History of Waterford”—Ryland).

1580

On the 10th of May, in the same year, Sir William Pelham, the Lord Justice, called a general assembly of the Munsters lords at Limerick. Ormonde duly appeared, bringing with him White, the Masters of the Rolls, Lords Dunboyne and Power, and Sir James Fitz Gerald, of Decies. Lord Roche and his son Maurice, and Sir Thomas of Desmond came from Cork, followed later by a few others. None of the Western chiefs came, and Pelham, seeing no hopes of more coming, conferred with those who were present. They swore to forego private quarrels, and to band against Desmond and his rebel followers. Sir James must have carried out his promise, for we hear of this in the following year (1580) being kept a prisoner in Kerry by the rebels. Lord Fitz Maurice, whose two sons were detained at Limerick, was told that he could only make his peace by intercepting Desmond, or, at the very least, by procuring the release of Sir James Fitz Gerald, of Dromana. However, Sir James was not liberated; on the contrary, Desmond handed the poor man over to the Spaniards, with instructions to exact a ransom of £1,000. The Spaniards took him to a fort called Dur-an-Oir, or the Fort of Gold in the harbour of Smerwick, in Kerry. A fleet, composed of Spanish and Italian troops, had landed at the fort the same year, and the new Lord Deputy, Lord Grey, determined to attack them and to take their stronghold. Lord Grey had but lately left England to take the place of Pelham. He was accompanied by two interesting men—Sir Walter Raleigh, his chief captain, and the poet, Spenser, who acted as his Secretary.

Ormond had already marched into Kerry and inspected the Fort, but when he marked its deep trenches and impregnable ramparts he withdrew. He very unwillingly accompanied the Lord Deputy, who, in spite of Ormond's advice to the contrary, was quite determined to take the place. So he gathered together his force and made preparations for a siege! First, he sent "a trumpett to the Fort to aske those who kept it who brought them to Ireland, by whom they were sent, and wherefore they built a fort in the Queen's Kingdom, and commanded them presently to quitt itt. Whereunto they boldly and peremptorily answered, that they were sent, some from the Holy Father the Pope, and the rest from the King of Spayne, to whom the sayd Father had given Ireland, Queen Elizabeth being fallen from it by reason of her Heresy ; and therefore they would keepe what they had, and get more if they could. Whereupon the Deputy caused the souldiers by night to bring some culverings from ye shippes, and haveing made the Bulwarke upon the shoare drew them easily forward and conveniently planted them for battery. The land souldiers bent theire greatest Ordnance to the other syde, and soe both on both sydes played upon the house incessantly for 4 dayes together. In the meane time the Spaniards made many salleys, but in vayne, they notthing profitting thereby."

These, doubtless, were anxious days for Sir James, and he must have been somewhat relieved when the commander of the Fort, Sebastian de San Josepho, demanded a parley, the first result of which was his own immediate liberation. One can picture his delight at

seeing his friends again, especially Ormond, who ever proved a kind and truehearted patron to his “neere cosens,” the Fitz Geralds, of Dromana. This must have been the first occasion, too, on which Sir James met Raleigh, and perhaps his imprisonment, though apparently a great misery may have proved a great blessing to him and his race, for Sir Walter, finding him a sufferer in the loyalist cause, would naturally look with favour upon him and his descendants ever afterwards. He undoubtedly did so, and it is partly owing to Sir Walter’s friendship that the Dromana family were able to hold their own in the troubled years to come.

As to the soldiers in the Fort of Smerwick they were forced to surrender, and the seven hundred men who composed the garrison (with the exception of the officers, who were held for ransom) were, says Leyland, “butchered in cold blood,” nor is it without pain that he finds “a service so horrible and detestable” committed to Sir Walter Raleigh. Sir Walter, for whom, nevertheless, one has a lingering affection, did perpetrate some dreadfully bloody deeds in Ireland, but one can only think in extenuation, that he acted under orders. Sir Walter is said to have paid a visit to the Fitz Geralds at Dromana about this time, and to have planted the first of the numerous cherry trees that still abound in the demesne. The cherry was a novelty in the British Isles, Sir Walter being the first person to introduce it from the Canary Islands. In token of friendship Fitz Gerald gave him a present of the tithes of Affane. These tithes are paid to this day by the Dromana family, to the Duke of

Devonshire, who now owns what used to be Raleigh's Irish property. This property Raleigh sold to the Great Earl of Cork, and the Duke of Devonshire obtained it through marriage with an heiress of the Cork family.

In 1581 Sir James Fitz Gerald died, and in that year 1581 we find the following entry in the "Annals of the Four Masters": "The Lord of Decies, James, the son of Gerald, son of John, son of Garrett More of Decies, son of James, son of Garrett, the Earl of Desmond died." The Four Masters are brief and unpictorial in their announcements very often, but contemporary evidence as to the accuracy of the dates is always valuable. Whether James was killed in battle, or whether the hardships he underwent while a prisoner, were the cause of his death, it is impossible to ascertain. Before he died he was created Viscount Decies (or, rather, his brother Maurice's title was revived for him) as a reward for his staunch loyalty against the Desmonds. He did not live long to enjoy this honour. At his death his title and lands went to his son Gerald.

There is only one mention of Gerald during the history of the twenty years he reigned at Dromana, and that was in connection with the parcelling out of Munster amongst English settlers. Meanwhile the head of Gerald's house was faring very badly, and, indeed, in such straits was he that even his enemies might have pitied poor Desmond in these latter days. He still fought bravely on against the English, buoyed up with hopes of help from France and Spain. He was surrounded by a band of desperate men called the "Old Children of the Wood," and they betook

themselves to the wilds near the lakes of Killarney. Desmond made several successful "hostings," one into the country of his hereditary foes, the Butlers, and left the hill on which he fought "speckled with the bodies of the slain." In 1583, while his old enemy, Ormond, was governor of the two provinces of Munster, Desmond ravaged the country more severely than ever. However, his people were beginning to be so much in dread and awe of the law and sovereign of England, that gradually they began to separate from him. In the end even his wife and children and friends forsook him, so that he had but four persons to accompany him from one cavern rock or hollow tree to another. Finally, in the autumn of this year the last tragic scene was enacted in the life of the stout-hearted old rebel. He was hiding in a hut near Tralee, having with him but one woman and two men servants, when his enemies rushed into the hut and dragged him out and beheaded him.

Ormond, in a letter to the Privy Council, describes the occurrence, and, mentions how he had sent for his head, "and appointed his body to be hung up in chains at Cork." This, however, his friends prevented by hiding his body for eight weeks. As for poor Desmond's head Ormond had it pickled and placed in a pipkin and forwarded as a present to the Queen. This last act seems one of unnecessary brutality, especially when we reflect that Ormond was Desmond's stepson. The head, when it arrived in England, was impaled on London Bridge. Thus perished the last of the Earls of Desmond, and with him closes the mediæval history of Munster.

One historian says, that “though much legendary glory attaches to his name, he was a man of little talent or virtue, though he need not be too severely condemned for refusing to see that the days of feudal or tribal independence were over. With nothing heroic about him, the unhappy Earl is still honoured as a hero; but even the fidelity of tradition to his memory is less than that of the natives to him while he yet lived, let this much be said in honour of the poor kerne, who stood so staunchly in a doubtful cause. The Earl’s ghost, mounted on a phantom steed, with silver shoes, is said sometimes to rise at night from the waters of Lough Gar; and when the west wind comes up fitfully from the sea, and makes slates and windows rattle, the Kerry people still call upon travellers to listen to the Desmond howl.”

The Earl’s lands were confiscated and parcelled out among English settlers or undertakers, as they were called, because they undertook to perform certain duties. Sir Walter Raleigh managed to secure a good large portion of the Earl’s property, for himself and his friend, the Poet Spenser, was also granted about 3,000 acres.

In 1584 Sir John Perrott returned to Ireland as Lord Deputy, and “a general peace was proclaimed throughout all Ireland, and in the two provinces of Munster in particular, after the decapitation of the Earl of Desmond.” Munster was, in fact, too exhausted by war to do much harm to England, and the only danger was from Spain, and little could be done in the way of colonization while rumours of the Armada filled the air. The land, nevertheless, was roughly surveyed, and the seigniory of 12,000

acres was fixed as a basis of a plantation. The younger sons of gentlemen and substantial yeomen were to be encouraged to take leases under the undertakers, as the great grantees were called.

Difficulties soon arose. A disposition was shown to stretch the Queen's title, and this caused universal distrust. As an instance, the historian mentions that Fitz Gerald of the Decies has always claimed to hold of the Queen, and was required to prove his title strictly. If he could be made out Desmond's tenant then was Decies at the Queen's mercy. At the time of the battle of Affane one would have imagined that it was finally settled that the Fitz Geralds of Dromana were not Desmond's tenants. However, Gerald Fitz Gerald must have satisfactorily proved that he held from the Crown, because we have no record that he was ever molested, or deprived of any of his property. Doubtless Raleigh's friendship stood him in good stead.

In 1588 Ireland again was put in a state of ferment on account of the meditated attack on England by the Invincible Armada. When the Spanish ships were put to flight by the English many of them fled towards Ireland, where about twenty ships were wrecked on different parts of the coast, and an immensity of men and treasure lost. Even when the crews managed to reach land they were mostly murdered by the Irish, partly for the sake of gain, partly because they were too afraid of English vengeance to succour the Spaniards. Some who managed to escape with their lives took refuge in Scotland. Very few remained in Ireland, at any rate, not enough to

do any harm, and the country was unusually quiet during the years that followed the King of Spain's abortive enterprise.

In this same year there landed in Ireland a young adventurer named Boyle, afterwards known as the great Earl of Cork. He and Raleigh were on intimate terms, though it cannot be said that Boyle exactly acted a friend's part when Raleigh was down on his luck in future years. At this time Sir Walter was very prosperous, and was Mayor of Youghal and living at Myrtle Grove, the house that has already been described in the life of the old Countess of Desmond.

In 1598 Sir Walter's prospects suffered somewhat, for the natives of Munster rose in rebellion and nearly destroyed the new English settlements. Ormond says "the undertakers, three or four excepted, most shamefully forsook all their castles and dwelling places before any rebel came in sight of them, and left their munitions, stuff and cattle to the traitors, and no manner of resistance made."

But can one wonder at them flying when we read of the outrages that were committed. English children were torn from their nurses' breasts and dashed against walls. An Englishman's heart was plucked out in his wife's presence, and she was forced to lend her apron to wipe the murderer's fingers. Some of the English fugitives who flocked to Youghal had lost their tongues and noses, and the dependents who lived on the bread of the English settlers, were most conspicuous by their cruelty. Edmund Spenser

and his wife escaped, but one of their children perished.

I expect the English were rather chary of becoming Irish settlers for some time after the outbreak.

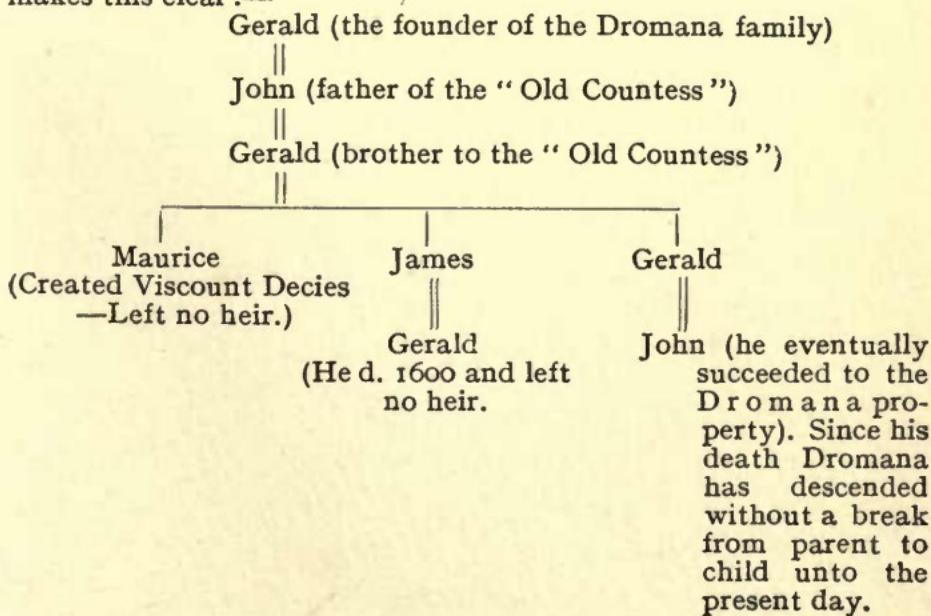
The Earl of Essex arrived in the following year from England with an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse, "so great an army," say the Four Masters, "had not visited Ireland since the time of Strongbow." They describe, too, how Essex, with part of his force, visited Munster, and how badly they were received by the Geraldynes, who did "follow, pursue, and prey upon them, to shoot at, wound and slaughter them" as they passed by Fermoy and Lismore, but that "when the Earl arrived in the Decies, the Geraldynes returned in exultation and high spirits to their territories and houses." One wonders what part the Dromana family took in this affair, for the fighting must have taken place near their own dwelling castle. They were almost the only loyal members of the Geraldyne clan, and it must have been an uncomfortably conspicuous position to hold in those days when the Crown of England was not strong enough to protect its loyal servants.

Essex visited Dungarvan and afterwards proceeded to Waterford, and from thence into the country of the Butler's and on towards Dublin. Great numbers of his men were slaughtered "in every road and way by which they passed." This shows how difficult it is for even a big army to be successful against a comparatively few disaffected natives. We have had a notable instance of

this in the last Boer war. Essex made peace with the rebels and returned to England without leave; for this he was dismissed from office and sent to prison; but the Queen forgave him, though he afterwards displeased her again and she had him beheaded.

In the first year of the new century (1600), Gerald Fitz Gerald of Dromana died, and Dromana went to his cousin John.\* Gerald had married first Honora, daughter of Lord Barry, and afterwards Ellen, daughter of Lord Power, but he left no son, and so the title of Baron of Affane and Viscount Decies died out for the second and last time; though John did present a petition in 1613 to King James to "confer the said title of honour on him"; but his said Majesty was pleased to defer the consideration

\* The father of this John Fitz Gerald was the third son of Gerald, the brother of the "Old Countess." The following table makes this clear:—



of said claim to said title to a future period. However, Sir John passed a patent of said estates according to the Commission for defective Titles, 7th October, 1614.

But these events belong by right to the next chapter, this present one purporting only to describe that part of the history of Dromana which took place while the Tudors ruled in Ireland.

## CHAPTER IV.

Dromana in the time of the Stuarts.

MOST of our detailed information about the Dromana family at the commencement of the seventeenth century is gleaned from the diary of Richard Boyle, afterwards Earl of Cork, of whom mention has been made in a previous chapter. This Richard Boyle is one of the most remarkable figures of his age. He was a man of boundless ambition, and because of his wonderful sagacity and firmness of purpose, and his capacity for seeing and seizing a favourable opportunity, he lived to see his every ambition fulfilled.

Though he was an adventurer, like many of the great men who served Queen Elizabeth, he was yet law-abiding, upright, truthful, and sincerely religious. However, there is no denying that his own interests came first, that he was acute to a degree, and not averse to making his own gain out of another's misfortune.

Richard Boyle was the younger son of one Roger Boyle, an English country gentleman, and was born at Canterbury in the year 1566. He studied at Benet College, Cambridge, and afterwards became a student at the Middle Temple. After the death of his parents he found he had not enough money to support himself in

the prosecution of his studies, so he became clerk to Sir Richard Manwood, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Finding this employment little likely to improve his fortunes, he went to Ireland in the hopes of being more successful. In his autobiography he says : "I arrived out of England into Ireland, when God guided me hither 23rd of June, being Mydsomer even 1588, bringing with me a taffata doublet, a pair of velvett breeches, a new sute of laced ffustian cut upon taffata, a bracelett of gold worth £10, a diamond ring and £26 2s. in money in my purse." In truth but a small portion of the world's goods with which to begin life, but though poor in material things, the young adventurer was rich in natural gifts, and this insignificant beginning proved the foundation of a really princely fortune.

During the first years of his sojourn in Ireland he held various minor posts in the Government. In 1595 he married one of the daughters and co-heiresses of William Apseley. This lady died four years afterwards, leaving him a landed estate of £500 a year. He purchased land extensively, keeping an exact account of every penny he spent, saved and acquired. He also lent money on landed security, and when his clients were unable to meet their liabilities, their land was annexed by the astute Boyle, who, we may be sure, never lost on the transaction. In this way he acquired an immense landed property, which was considerably increased by the purchase of Sir Walter Raleigh's Munster estates in 1602, which he sold for the trifling sum of £1,000, being at that time in great straits for lack of means. (see page 33).

Boyle was much favoured by Elizabeth, who was far-sighted enough to never allow a possibly helpful statesman to languish in obscurity. James I. followed his predecessor's example by showing honour to the rising statesman. In 1616 he was created Lord Boyle, Baron of Youghal, and four years later Viscount Dungarvan and Earl of Cork.

Some years previous to the receipt of these distinctions Boyle commenced to write his historic diary, to which we owe such an interesting picture of social life in those days.\*

At the time the diary commences Dromana was owned by Sir John Fitz Gerald, who presented a petition to James I. for the restitution of the family title of Viscount Decies and Baron of Affane, but as we have seen in the previous chapter he was unsuccessful in the matter. Nevertheless, considering the disturbed times in which he lived, he did well in securing for himself and for his heirs, the undisputed ownership of Dromana and all the Decies property. There are several entries in the diary concerning various business transactions that took place between the Earl and Sir John. One memorandum, dated May 8th, 1617, runs thus : "I gave to Sir Joen ffitzgarrott of dromanny in the presence of Mr. J. Ronayne and Mr. Russel a noat under my own

\* This diary, together with the letters and autobiography of the great Earl, were found in the muniment room of Lismore Castle, and printed by the present Duke of Devonshire in 1886. The original diary is in good preservation, but the author's cramped handwriting and very erratic spelling makes it a little difficult to decipher.

hand leasing the Kippagh parcel of Ardmoor unto him for one year, begynning on May daie laste, he paying me for that year iij ster, half at all Saints daie next and thother half at the end of the year." Four months later the Earl writes again : " Mr. Thomas ffitzgerald of Rostellan having upon John ffitzgerald of dromannyes acquit all the mortgage of Bowchers Parck left for me £16 s5. 8 " and he (the Earl) received of Sir John Fitz Gerald's son and heir one hundred pounds and that he forfeited him "a condiconall release which he left in deposite to be delivered to Sir John upon his release to me of the Bowcher Parck and payment of the £100 and not otherwise." From this, one would conclude that the Earl did not trust Sir John further than he saw him.

There is one more note about Bowcher Park, in which the Earl says that he received of young Mr. John Fitz Gerald of the Decies £150 for his interest in the Dromore lease and certain other properties with an arrangement that he was to give up Dromore if Mr. Fitz Gerald gave up Bowcher's Park.

With these few and unsatisfying mentions of the then owner of Dromana we have to be satisfied. Perchance had the Earl of Cork known how much posterity would have enjoyed hearing further details, he would, doubtless, have added some.

In the year 1620 Sir John Fitz Gerald died, and we glean this scrap of information from the diary. "Trod to Clonmel," writes the Earl, "to be at the taking of thoffice before the Lord SARSFEYLD, Sir J. Everard

and Mr Osbern upon the death of Sir J. Fitzgerald of Dromany." "Taking of thoffice" was probably some ceremonial tantamount to an inquest in these days.

Sir John had married Ellen Fitzgibbon, daughter of Maurice the White Knight, and this lady outlived him, her will being dated 30th May, 1630. There was one son of the marriage, who was known as Sir John Oge Fitzgerald. He died some six years after his father.

The Earl and Sir John Oge appeared to have a lengthy dispute concerning Camphier, a castle which stood on the opposite side of the Blackwater to Dromana, and about a mile nearer to the mouth of the river. The castle was owned by Fitzgerald, a kinsman of Sir John's, and the dispute, as far as one can judge, seemed to have arisen about a mortgage.

On June 25th, 1622, the Earl makes the following entry in his diary—"Mr. John Oge Fitzgerald of Dromany and myself this daie referred all our suits and differences for Camphier and other lands to the order of Sir R. Bolton and Mr. Attorney of Munster for me, and Mr. Brerton and Mr. Dongan for him." In the year following he writes again—"My Lord Aungier concluded at Clonmel between me and Mr. John Fitzgerald of Dromany and Garret Fitzgerald John of Camphier touching Camphier." The Earl then goes on to explain that he is to give a certain sum of money, in lieu of which Sir John makes "me a general release from him and his heirs of all his title and demaunde of and in Camphier, Oghill and Ellanemawg, with their appertenances near Lismore, in the county of

Waterford, to me and my heirs for ever." To show there is no ill-feeling, I presume, the Earl says—"I gave to Mr. John Fitz Gerald for his release of Camphier over and above the £900 ster. I formerly paid for the purchase thereof one ffair gelding called black wright wh he returned me." Decidedly an inexpensive way of giving a present.

However, in spite of the "ffair gelding" all friction was not at an end, for in the year 1625, the Earl complains that on St. Valentine's day "the Lady Ellen Fitz Gerald of Dromany widdoe, with 30 armed men, took Garrett Fitz John prisoner and carried him to the Castle of Dromany and terrified and threatened his Uncle Thomas." The Lady Ellen would seem from this to have been possessed of a certain reckless determination of character, though it is just possible she had suffered severe provocation before she retaliated in such a high-handed fashion. Whether she was in the right or in the wrong, retribution followed, for four days later, on the 20th of February, we read that "the purcevant cam to Dromany for to attache the Lady fitzgerald and her men that took away gerrott ffitz John of Camphier, but he was not suffered to come within the gates, so I gave the purcevant half a piec," and continues the Earl "the last of this moneth the fatt sirjean at armes came with warrant for her and the rest of her riotouse servants."

It is a pity we have no record of why gerrott ffitz John was taken prisoner, or why Ellen and not her son was the chief mover in the matter. It would have been entertaining to have witnessed the events that took place on

St. Valentine's Day nearly four hundred years ago. Let us imagine "the Lady Ellen" creeping forth at dawn from her castle, the mist still on the river, everywhere perfect silence except for the birds, who faintly twittered the first uncertain notes of their spring love song. Undeterred in her stern purpose by the gentle thoughts St. Valentine's day ought to bring, Ellen—let us continue to conjecture—embarked in the waiting boats with a horde of her wild kern, spoiling for a fight, as is ever the way with the Irish. But strategy and not violence is probably the order of the day. A woman is in command of the expedition, and oars are muffled and voices silent, till they arrive beneath the walls of Camphier. Within, the unsuspecting "gerrott" is sleeping soundly, little thinking of the crafty enemy at his gates. Ellen's subtle woman's wit has devised, doubtless, some means of effecting a quiet entry, and "gerrott" is seized and gagged whilst still asleep and borne off, bound and helpless, to the Castle of Dromana whilst his retainers are still wrapped in slumber, only to be awakened when too late by the discordant and derisive yells of victory which the adherents of Lady Ellen indulge in when safely out of the reach of vengeance.

One is tempted to thus conjecture when one looks out of the windows of Dromana and sees the modern common-place house that now stands on the site of the once rugged Castle of Camphier. Now-a-days, instead of war-like sallies and violent recriminations, the inhabitants of Dromana and Camphier embark in boats to exchange innocuous afternoon calls, and drink a

friendly cup of tea. As the French say, “autre temps, autre moeurs.”

A certain amount of friction seems to have continued to exist between Fitz Gerald of Dromana and the Earl of Cork, for a few months after the capture of “gerrott” the latter writes, that “Mr. John Fitz Gerald and divers others in his companie cam to Rathnemeenagh and forbade my myneers to work there, and took a crow of iron from them and on the 23rd of the month 3 of Mr. Fitz Gerald’s servants cam thither againe, forbade my worenmen and would have taken away their tools.” The friction probably lasted till John Fitz Gerald’s death, which took place in the year following.

Meanwhile, in the world without, events of importance were taking place. James I. had followed up his predecessor’s design of planting Ireland with English settlers. When the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel fled from Ireland in 1607 their estates were confiscated, as well as those belonging to hundreds of other land-owners who had never offended against the Government. This confiscated territory, amounting to about three-quarters of a million acres, was divided among English “undertakers” or “planters,” and the original owners migrated to the glens and mountains vowing bitter vengeance against the interlopers.

In Munster the King did not turn out the people openly as he did in Ulster, but adopted the cunning plan of sending persons to examine the titles of the estates. These examiners managed to find flaws in almost all the titles they examined, on which the owners

were either turned off or compelled to pay the King large sums to be allowed to retain possession. The whole country swarmed with persons called "discoverers," who gave information about any titles that could be made out faulty, and who in reward for their crooked proceedings, were given either the estates or part of the money the unfortunate owners paid to be allowed to remain. The Fitz Geralds of Dromana must have, indeed, deemed themselves fortunate in being allowed to retain their ancestral acres.

In 1618 the first and most famous "undertaker" of all, 1618 Sir Walter Raleigh, was beheaded in the Tower. Though the cruel deeds he perpetrated in Ireland will ever be remembered against him, yet one cannot deny some sympathy to the once gallant courtier who lived to see himself shorn of all his glory and greatness, and endured the crowning ignominy of a traitor's death.

The man who took the most prominent part in King James' "undertaking" was Sir John Davis, a well-known lawyer and writer, who has left us an account of his own and his colleagues' proceedings. He would seem to have thought it not unnatural for the Irish to feel somewhat annoyed at their treatment, for he says—"the natives seemed not unsatisfied in reason, though they remain in their passions discontented, being grieved to leave their possessions to strangers, which they had so long after their manner enjoyed."

"After *their* manner enjoyed" is a sample of the way the English ever spoke of the Irish, thus setting them

apart as though they had totally different feelings and habits from themselves.

The Stuart Kings seem to have regarded Ireland chiefly as a convenient source from which to obtain money to fill their ever empty coffers. Charles I. was perhaps the worst offender; but, in 1622, when King James desired money to give to his only daughter Elizabeth, who had married the Elector Palatine, he collected a part of it at least in Ireland. John Fitz Gerald of Dromana appears to have been the chief collector for his part of the country, for the Earl of Cork speaks of having given him a hundred pounds towards his collection for “the ayde of marriadge for the Lady Elizabeth.” Poor unfortunate Elizabeth, whose life began so brightly, ended so dismally; but who, for her fascination, charm and generosity, rightly earned the title of “Queen of Hearts.”

James I. died in 1625, and the event is recorded by the Earl—“April 10th. Sir Thomas Stafford arrived at Yoghall in service tyme bringing the anwelcom tydings of King James’ decease and the joyfull newes of the peaceable receaving and proclaiming of King Charles, whome God I beseech ever to bless, prosper and defend.” Then he describes how he sent out messengers with letters by a private postern gate so that in “every place they brought the first newes therof whereby all places were made secure and guarded before any notice or rumour coulde disturbe them.” Next day, he says, “There happily arrived six hundred new soldiers at Yoghall, but finding all quiet after they had been three

daies gratis refreshed and billeted they were sent away to their severall garrisons."

A few days later letters arrive "with the proclamacons to proclaym King Charles, wherappon," continues the Earl, "I presently forsook my dynner and immediately wrott my letters, and his Majesty was most solemnly and joyfully proclaimed that night in Yoghall, Pallagh and Lismoor, and at Lismoor I was personally present and we all dranck King Charles his health on our knees."

The Earl, like many other enthusiastic loyalists, was doomed in after years to suffer for his adherence to the unfortunate, but much-loved monarch, whose accession was hailed with such joy.

A few months after the death of King James, an event occurred in the annals of the county of Waterford which was to have an indirect but important influence on the later history of Dromana. The event in question was the appointment of Sir Edward Villiers \* to the Governorship of Munster. This Sir Edward was half brother to George Villiers, the celebrated Duke of Buckingham,

\* Sir Edward Villiers had married Barbara St. John, a niece of Sir Oliver St. John, who in 1620 was created Viscount Grandison, with remainder to the heirs male of his niece Barbara, then Lady Villiers. Her grandson, known as Brigadier Villiers, married in 1677, Katherine Fitz Gerald the heiress of Dromana, and he gave the name of Villiers and the title of Grandison to the Dromana family. The title of Grandison was settled on Barbara's children through the influence of her brother-in-law, the Duke of Buckingham. There was a bond of union between the Earl of Cork and Lady Villiers, insomuch as it was her uncle who conferred a title on the then Mr. Boyle. The Earl refers to it and says—"I was created Lord Boyle, Baron of Yoghall by Sir Oliver St. John Knt. the Ld Deputy generall of Ireland" (this was in the year 1617.)

who, being in high favour at Court, was easily able to obtain Government appointments for his various relations. Sir Edward also seems to have been a friend of the Earl of Cork's, which fact may have had something to do with his coming to Ireland.

The Earl writes : " My house, gardens, stables, etc., was this day (June 27th) yielded up to Cap<sup>a</sup> R. Morgan, for and unto thuse of Sir Edward Villiers, now made Lord President of Mounster to whome I have rented my said house in Yoghall for one year." Sir Edward made the College house his official residence while President of Munster. Sir Henry Dalton says—" he lived there in singular estimation for his justice and hospitality, his religious Lady, who was of a sweet and noble disposition, adding much to his honour."

From all accounts, Sir Edward and Lady Villiers seem to have been a very delightful couple and much loved by all who knew them, and he especially has left behind him a name for justice, kindness, and integrity —rare virtues in those corrupt days. The Earl showed him much friendship during the brief time he held the office of Governor of Munster (Sir Edward died in less than a year after he arrived in Ireland).

In the Diary we read that on the 17th of October the "new Lord President of Mounster arrived at Waterford with his Lady and children"; but no details are given, which is a pity. It would have been interesting to have had a description of their cortege, and to have learnt which of the Munster Lords came to bid the new Governor welcome and bring him on his way to Youghall.



SIR GEORGE VILLIERS,

FATHER OF THE FIRST DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM,  
AND OF

SIR EDWARD VILLIERS, PRESIDENT OF MUNSTER.

(From his tomb in Westminster Abbey, from a drawing by Miss Gertrude Villiers Stuart.)



The party most likely reached their destination by way of Dungarvan, crossing the Blackwater somewhere near old Strancally Castle, in which case they must have traversed part of the Dromana property. As Sir Edward and his Lady rode on their way, gazing round with interest and perhaps admiration on the new country wherein they had come to sojourn for the first time, they would have been greatly surprised could they have known that the son of their third boy, George, would one day own the broad acres across which they were passing. However, the veil that ever hangs between us and the future was not raised, nor was any sign given whereby Sir Edward and Lady Villiers could know that their children's children would call Dromana "home," and that their descendants would continue to live there for generations.

In the June of the following year (1626), Sir Edward's fifth and last son was born at Youghall. The Earl touches on the event, and says:—My Mother and my wife and Myself and children rodd to Youghall, where I was god father to my Lord Presidents fifth son, who was born in the colledge howse and christened in Youghall church." "God bless the child," is his pious wish, and then he adds: "I gave away and spent at the Xtining 20 Marks." It is certainly less expensive to enact the part of god parent nowadays, where a silver mug meets all requirements.

On another occasion he becomes generous and gives the President's second son, John, his first horse (for which he paid a peece).

In another place he mentions Sir Edward's eldest son, William, who afterwards became Second Viscount Grandison, but is best remembered as having been the father of Barbara Villiers, the famous Duchess of Cleveland. The Earl writes: "I sent a fatt Buck to the towne of Dungarvan whither my son Richard and my 4 daus Mr. Wm. Villiers with other good companie went to be merry, this being the first daie my son saw Dungarvan" (his eldest son held the title of Viscount Dungarvan).

The next entry in the Diary bearing on this history runs thus:—"My noble friend, Sir Edward Villiers sickened this day (Sept. 2nd, 1626) at Yoghall and died on the 6th of the moneth about 4 of the clock in the morning and was buried in my newe chapple the 7th. in the evening, I attending his death and ffunerals." Thus passed away an upright, courtly gentleman, the best President Munster ever had.

The "Newe Chapple" referred to, is one of the side chapels in Youghall Church, now known as the Earl of Cork's Chapel. The Earl spent much time, thought, and money on the building of this chapel and the erection therein of a handsome tomb, in which he was afterwards buried. The tomb is in excellent preservation, and may be seen to-day. It is decorated with a carved bas relief, representing the kneeling figure of the Earl surrounded by his two wives and his fourteen children.

The only other object of great interest in the chapel is the tomb of Sir Edward Villiers, which consists of

a plain, flat stone slab, on which are engraved the following lines :—

“ Munster may curse the time that Villiers came  
To make us worse by leaving such a name,  
Of noble parts as none can imitate  
But those whose hearts are married to the state ;  
But if they press to imitate his name,  
Munster may bless the time that Villiers came.”

These quaint lines, doubtless, represent the real feeling of regret felt in the South of Ireland when Sir Edward died, for it was a sad day for Munster when his brief, but happy reign ended, and no President was ever so much lamented as he.

Lord Cork befriended Lady Villiers and her children after their bereavement, and he describes how he, and Lord Barry and Lord Digby rode to Youghal to bring “Lady Villiers a shipboord” when she finally left Ireland. He mentions, too, that he gave “My godson Richard Villiers his nurse 10s.” He is also much pleased when Lady Villiers, as a parting gift, bestows in his chapel ten books of common prayer.

On the 9th of March, some few months before the death of Sir Edward Villiers, the Earl mentions that “Mr. John ffitzgerald of Dromanny died at Yoghall,” where he was also buried. He had married Elinor, daughter of James Lord Dunboyne, and he left behind him as his heir a son, Gerald, who was only fifteen at the time of his father’s death. For some unknown reason Lady Villiers was entrusted with the wardship of the boy heir of Dromana, and the Earl would seem to have managed the money part of the arrangement, for there are several entries on the subject in his Diary. One entry in memorandum

form runs thus :—“ Mr. Alderman Parkhurst to paie 700 to my Lady Barbary Villiers, wh. if it shalbe accordinglie to her Lady<sup>p</sup> then am I to paie him 100 more and Capn. Moyan the other £100 that he receaved of Mr. C. Fitz Gerald of the decies, soe to make up his 700.” In another place he writes: “ I have receaved a letter to Mr. Alderman Packharste to pay the Lady Barbary Villiers in London 700 for Mr. ffitzgerald’s wardship.” Notes of this kind continue till 1631, when Gerald Fitz Gerald came of age, when the Earl writes :—“ Mr. Jermyn departed with my letters to the Lo. Goring, Sir Wm. Beecher, the Ladie Villiers, in wh. letters to her Lad<sup>s</sup> I sent the coppie of the conclusion made for the wardship of Mr. Gerrott Fitz Gerald of Dromany.” We do not find any mention of the said Gerrott Fitz Gerald in the Diary again till many years later ; however there are some quaint passages worth recording about the Earl’s own concerns.

The years between Sir Edward Villiers’ death and the great Rebellion of 1641 were palmy times for the Earl of Cork ; he amassed more wealth and arranged splendid alliances for his many sons and daughters. His description of the arrangements concerning one of the daughter’s weddings gives one an insight into the elaborate marriage settlements in vogue in those days. He writes :—“ After the L. viscount Rannellagh and I had treated of a marriadge between his only son Arthur Jones and my 5th dau. Katherine Boyle, and I had offered him £3,000 sterling with her as a marriadge portion so he would assure her Dorranstown and other lands in Meathe of ffive hundred



*Portrait at] BARBARA ST. JOHN. [Dromana.  
WIFE OF SIR E. VILLIERS, PRESIDENT OF MUNSTER AND GOVERNOR  
OF YOUGHAL, WHERE HE WAS BURIED IN 1629.*



pounds ster. a year above all charges and reprises." However, Lord Rannellagh does not seem entirely satisfied, so Lord Cork arranges further, that, if certain lands near Dublin are purchased to go towards an increase of "jointure," he will give £1,000 towards the purchase, or, failing this, he says that "if God should bless our said children with a son, that within three monthes after the birth thereof, if the Mother and son soe longe lived, that then I would as increase of portion give them another thowsand pounds." He further charges his son and heir "as he will answer the same before the face of the Almighty God to perform faithfully and really this promise if I myself depart this world before I have fulfilled it."

He makes another mention of Lord Rannellagh in describing a quarrel in which he took part, "difference and ill words hapned," writes the Earl, "between Lord viscount Rannalagh and the Lord Mountmorreis in their passing by the bonfires as they were attending the state comynge from church in the Castle Street (in Dublin) where the L. of Rannelagh Gave the L. Mountmorreis the ly, for saying he was too peremptory with him and calling his footman unmannerly rogue (for the appealing whereof they were both commanded to keep their houses). The 7th they were both called before the Connell table, and uppone debate of what had past, the L. Mountmorries deneyed he used the word peremptory to the L. of Rannelagh, or called his footman unmanerly rogue, but unmannerly fellow, and therefore to take off the ly from the L. Mountmorreis whod denye the word

Rogue to the footman and peremptory to himself—therefore seeing and because no such words of provicacon were acknowledged to be spoken, he was sorry for having given the lye and so by bothe their consents they were at the concell table reconciled made ffrends and shook hands." It seems a strange thing to us that such a childish quarrel should have had to be settled by the Government.

The Earl did not always find his daughters ready to become parties to the marriages he arranged for them ; he mentions that up to January, 1640, he used to allow his daughter, Mary, £100 a year for her " maintenance in apparrell," but that when she became " unruly," and refused to marry " Mr. James Hamylton, the son and heir of Lo. viscount of Clandeby as I seriously advised her," "I deteigned," he says, " my promised allowance from her and not given her a penny." In truth, one would say a very stern parent. Sometimes, when the aforementioned stern parent had secured the desired sons-in-law they did not always turn out quite ideal. On one occasion he describes how " My daughter, the Countess of Barrymore, with her son and daughter and their ffamalie, departed from my howse at Dublin towards their own howse at Castle Lyons. But her discreet Lord sent leeftenant ffynch to call her and hers home without so much as a letter to her (or me of thanks for the year and a halves diet I gave him and his ffamly in Dublin) neither sent he money horses or men to bring her home —which was great disrespect of her and me—God forgive him." The little touches of sarcasm, such as

calling Lord Barrymore "her discreet Lord," are rather delightful. Another son-in-law, Lord Kildare, once played him a mean trick of which he complains in the following passage :—" My Lo. of Kildare for discovering who it was that had battered and abused my silver trencher plates, was by me promised V. for which when he had my promise, he said that it was himself with knocking marybones upon them, whereapon in discharge of my promise I commanded my servant to fetch his V in golde, which his Lordsp. without making any bones therat accepted, and I," grumbles the aggrieved father-in-law, " presently pocketted that wrong."

In spite of his many public duties, the Earl was distinctly a domestic man ; he took the greatest interest in all the births, deaths, marriages, and christenings that occurred in his family. He always carefully entered the births of his various children in his diary, generally mentioning the hour, and adding that they were born in the sign Scorpio or Cancer, Pisces or Libra, as the case may have been, for he evidently believed in astrology, as did many others of his day.

He attended the christening of his brother, the Bishop of Cork's son, and utters the pious wish : " God make him a better man than his father," a wish not complimentary to his brother. Some of the memoranda are certainly quaint. When the Earl's son, Roger, died he wrote—" The 10th October at night yt pleased Almighty God to call my eldest son Roger Boyle from Deptford into Heaven ;" and when his wife died his reference to the event is a startling mixture of sentiment and business

—“My deer wives funerals were this day (March 11 1629) honorably and solemnly performed;” she was interred, he writes, in St. Patrick’s Church in Dublin, “where her grand father and father were intombed. Th’ blacks and chardges of her funeralles (over and above all expences in my house) did amount unto somewhat above one thousand marckes ster.”

The Earl interested himself in literary things such as heraldry and historical research. One of his entries on this subject is of peculiar interest to us. He describes how he sent his “cozen Thomas Russell a fair pettedgree of the house and discents of the ancient and noble family of the fitz Geralds Earles of Desmond, drawen up by my selfe and frends searches of ancient Records.” Now this Thomas Russell referred to here is the author of the “History of the Desomonds” so much quoted in the earlier chapters of this book, and the aid he receives from his relative the Great Earl would seem to point to the Desmond history being fairly authentic and reliable.

One would like to dwell on the Earl’s philanthropic bent, which caused him to build “an Alms house for owlde decaied soldiers at Lismore,” and the fine public spirit in which he endeavoured to improve the condition of Ireland, but it would be out of place in a book of this kind. However, one quaint characteristic is worth touching on, and that is the weight he attached to the giving of presents. These took various shapes and forms, from a fair gelding to a pair of “sea water green silck stockings,” and even garters. He describes how his son, Dungarvan, gives him for a New Year gift “a Bever hat

and a goold band," and his daughter, Goring, "6 handkerchiefs and 6 fair night cappes, all fairly laced." Another time he says, "I gave my wives best ritch petticoat, which cost XXXV. to my daughter Digby, and to my daughter of Kildare the ring full of diamonds that I paid a C marcks for to my Lord Baltinglass." There are innumerable mentions all through the Diary anent the giving and receiving of presents, till at length dark days dawned, wherein there was no place found for the giving and receiving of presents, or the arranging of marriages.

The fitful peace engendered in Ireland by Strafford's iron rule was over, the dogs of war were beginning to growl and pull at their chains, and the wild beasts of anarchy and murder were but waiting a favourable opportunity to work their wicked will. The Irish, long oppressed and unfairly treated by England, had at last made up their minds to rise and exterminate the alien occupier of their lands, who were also the hated enemies of their religion. I put an agrarian reason before a religious one advisedly, for even if Elizabeth and James' undertakers had been English Catholics the rebellion would still, in all probability, have taken place.

The love of their own lands and of the place where they and their forebears before them were born is a very deeply-rooted sentiment in the Celtic nature, and what could have been more galling to the old Irish families than to be condemned to live in the waste places of their native country, and to see their properties in the hands of English strangers.

The long-waited for opportunity came at length—

Ireland's arch-despot, the greatly feared Strafford, had been unexpectedly done to death by his own peers, the hated Strafford who had

" Taught tyranny,

Her dismal trade, the use of all her tools,  
To ply the scourge, yet screw the gag so close,  
That strangled agony bleeds mute to death:  
How he turns Ireland to a private stage,  
For training infant villainies new ways,  
Of wringing treasure out of tears and blood,  
Unheard oppressions nourished in the dark,  
To try how much man's nature can endure."

Ay, and man's nature can only endure a certain strain, and the Irish could endure no more. Besides, was not Strafford dead, the relentless ruler who had loomed almost as great and powerful on their horizon as High Heaven itself.

The time was ripe, Rory O'Moore and Sir Phelim O'Neill, the leaders of the rebellion, decreed that the 23rd of October, 1641, was the psychic moment for a general rising all over Ireland. Dublin and many other fortresses were to be seized, all Protestant settlers were to be turned adrift, and all country houses were to be taken possession of. It was further commanded that there was to be no bloodshed, except in open fight.

On the 22nd of October secret information was given of the rebels' intentions, and Dublin was put in a state of defence.

However, the insurrection broke out successfully in the North, and Ulster was soon in the hands of the insurgents. Sir Phelim O'Neill found himself at the head of some 30,000 undisciplined men, armed with pikes, knives, pitchforks, scythes, or any sort of weapons that could be found. At first there was some sort of

discipline, but soon the fury of those who had been expelled at the time of the Plantations broke through all restraint, and they attacked the English settlers, cruelly killing great numbers.

Many Protestants were protected by their pitying Catholic neighbours and by the priests, often at the risk of their own lives.

There were terrible wholesale murders also on the other side; for instance, Sir Charles Coote made a sally from Dublin, and committed horrible cruelties on innocent people in Wicklow. Altogether, poor Ireland was in a sad way, and the loyal landowners in the South of Ireland began to tremble for their own safety. As the Autumn advanced the tide of rebellion swept threateningly southwards, and in November the Earl of Cork wrote to the President of Munster, Lord Inchiquin, to say he was preparing all the forces, both horse and foot, to be armed and in readiness, but that he forbore to have them "trayned in publique view." A little later in the month the President writes to say that he fears the Leinster rebels are on their way to Munster, and begs the Earl to see that the "proporcon of lead and match," which he has sent for to Clonmel, be forwarded to him "under a sure convoy." He then goes on to complain that "the gentlemen of the County Waterford show a general indisposicon to attempt to undertake anything against the rebels, and that not one man will stand against them further than his own house, but will rather suffer mischief to come to his owne domain than stir a foot to prevent it."

On the 25th of December the President writes that things have come to a desperate pass, and positively the last chance of holding the county is for Lord Cork and himself to "conjoyne themselves together, for in good faith, my Lord," adds the President, "if your Lordship doe not stick to me and that with a very powerfull assistance now that the whole kingdome is at stake, all will be lost." The Earl, being one of the biggest land-owners in the south, had much to lose if the insurgents gained the upper hand, and he eagerly responded to the President's appeal for aid, and set to work with his usual energy and thoroughness, his gallant spirit unbroken by age. He turned his Castle at Lismore into a fortress, and armed and disciplined his servants and Protestant tenants, and with their assistance he raised a small army which he put under the command of his four sons. We are told that he acted with as much skill and bravery as though he had been trained from infancy in the profession of arms. He paid the soldiers 3d. a week out of his own purse, and kept them besides, and when his money was exhausted he nobly converted his plate into coin.

The Earl writes that the object of the rebellion was to root out all the Protestants in the Kingdom, and that "every Irish and English papist was publiquely or privately infected with the poyson of this rebellion, and had vowed or receaved the Sacrament to roote us all out of Ireland, both roote and branch which hitherto they have pursued in the most bloudy and merciles manner that noe historie can report the like barbourous crueltie

done either by Turkes or Pagans." Then the unfortunate Earl goes on to say that he is nearly ruined by this rebellion that has come upon him as suddenly as lightning, and that from having "twenty thowsand pounds sterling per annum" he has scarcely "ten pounds a yeare rent." He further writes that "there are 20,000 in arms and rebellion against that poor handfull of British Protestants that are yet alive; noe one of them being master of anything that is not kepy in strong castles, and many of them are taken by treacherie and force. No place is secure, no papist to be trusted and the rebels multiply upon us like locusts."

Not least amongst the loyalist sufferers was Gerald Fitz Gerald, of Dromana. He was at the time about thirty years old, and one would be interested to know how he spent the ten years that elapsed between the time he came of age in 1631 and ceased to be the ward of Lady Villiers and the outbreak of the rebellion, however, there is no means of finding out. It is just possible that he crossed the sea and visited his lady guardian, for he married an English girl—Mabel, the daughter of Sir Robert Digby. This English wife, bred in the more peaceful atmosphere of the sister Isle, was possessed of too mild a spirit to cope with the turbulent times in Ireland, and she was destined to bring grave trouble on her husband.

Gerald Fitz Gerald seems to have bestirred himself somewhat more than the other backward gentlemen of the county, and to have done his best to defend the home of his ancestors from the rebels. But he at length

became very hard pressed for lack of ammunition, and he wrote the following letter to Lewis, Baron of Broghill, one of the Great Earl's sons:—

"Right ho<sup>ble</sup> and my very good Lord (he writes) had not the Castle of Dungarvan bin surprised for want of men and ammunition, this side of the county had not bin overrun as now it is. The enemy came home to my doore, robbed and spoyl'd my servants and depopulated my Lands: which I sh<sup>d</sup> have less bin troubled with: had I bin supplied (as I expected) of ammunition from the Earle your father: whereby I should have bin able to Defend myselfe for longer time than now is possible with that small stoor of provision I have, being but 30 pounds of powder, little lead and no match, for 45 hand guns and 5 pieces of ordnance, howerly expected (by messengers) for the enemyes their approach to my walls: yet my Loyaltyse will ever be such that I rather perish in distress (for want of supplies) than anie way infringe it. I understand the enemye determynes to imfest the way from Youghall ferry hither, as well by Water as Land, so that if I be not very shortlie relieved with ammunition I am in very poor case, wherewith I desire your Lordships speedilie to acquaint the Earl your father, so if it lye in your Lordship's power, I may have a timely supply: ffor my boates your Lordship writes of, they have long since (or now are) on your side, in the custody of M<sup>r</sup> fooks by direcon of the Earle. There is on this side only one lighter

wh has sunck under my castle wall, and belongette to a servant of myne. And in that, or ought els your Lordship shall ever command him who Live and Dye his Majestie's Loyall and faithfull subject and your Lordships humble servant to command.

“ GAROTT FITZ GERALD.

“ Dromayne, 14 Jan 1642.”

I suppose for fear the foregoing letter might not reach its destination, Garott writes another on the day following to Lord Broghill, which runs as follows :—

“ My very good Lord, I am daily menaced by the enemye and tould to my face that they will receive my accrueing rente toward payment of their Armie, and howerly expect to be assaulted and besieged : but am disanimated with nothing but the want of ammunition. If your Lordship please to have me in remembrance in that particular, no favour from your Lordship can be more acceptable : the want whereof worke most upon me, for that the English with mee for the Defence of my Castle (for that cause) are readie to relinquish mee if not speedily supplied. And for the boate yf pleases your Lordship not otherwise to dispose of it, I will keep with all security I possible can and as therin so in all things your Lordship shall ever command your humblest servant,

“ GARROT FITZ GERALD.

“ Dromany, 15th Jan 1642.”

In the Earl's Diary there is a mention of another letter from Garrott in which he says that observing when last

in Youghal how scant was the supply of wood, he offers to sell some from his own woods to the amount of £200. This was a fairly noble offer as there was no guarantee that he would ever be paid, because of the absence of money amongst the loyalist party in Ireland.

Gerald Fitz Gerald was only one of the many sufferers, and there are several letters given in the Diary from besieged Waterford landowners. One addressed to the Earl of Cork from Sir Richard Osborne\* is worth quoting. It was written from Knockmorne Castle,† and dated 26th January, 1642. The writer describes how his Castle was attacked, and how he repulsed the insurgents with loss. "I am right gladd," he continues, "you have secured Piltowne. I could wish the same were donne for Templemichgell which must be donne by compulsary meanes and authority of state: and yett I think M<sup>r</sup> ffitz Gerald will not be advers thereunto." (Templemichiel, a property lying on the opposite side of the Blackwater to Dromana, about five miles from Youghal, remained in the possession of the Dromana family till the time of John, fifth Viscount and first Earl Grandison, who was obliged to sell it to meet his liabilities when the South Sea Bubble burst). Sir Richard Osborne mentions Dromana, and how the presence of the English among the garrison will secure "that place" which "being donne, we have the freedom of the river which is at this tyme most advantageous." He draws the Earl's attention to the

\* An ancestor of the late Mrs. Bernal Osborne, of Newton Anner, Clonmel.

† The ruins of Knockmorne Castle may be seen to this day. They lie some six miles east of Dromana.

fact that "Garrott hatte bin most earnestly solicited by his Uncle, Mr. Edward Butler of Clare and others, to expell the english and to conforme him selfe to the romish religion, which he hath well and stoutly denied beyond my expectacon." Evidently there was some doubt in the county as to the loyalty of Fitz Gerald, and it does strike one that he protests his great loyalty to an unnecessary degree. He must have had some temptation to throw in his lot with the Catholic party, for he doubtless had many relations and friends amongst them. He was probably entrusted to the care of the English Lady Villiers, herself a firm Protestant, in order to keep him a member of that religion and make sure of his loyalty. It is more than likely also that Lady Villiers found for him an English wife. However, as far as we may judge, he does seem to have remained faithful to the English cause. On one occasion Lord Broghill writes to his father and says, "I doe so ply Fitzgaret of Dromana with my assurances of speedy forces Landinge yt I hope he will continue right," which again implies uncertainty as to what the Lord of Dromana meant to do. On 30th of January the President of Munster writes to the Earl and says "you may please to promise Mr. fitz Gerald some munition but not deliver any yet untill wee know what use wee shall have ourselves of it." Thus was the beleagured garrison in Dromana allowed to linger on in anxiety and discouragement without ammunition.

The rebellion ever waxed more fierce, and the Earl himself says that he grows helpless against the numbers,

and if succour from England does not come soon “heer wil I be buryed alive.”

Towards the end of February the outlook began to improve a little. Measures had been passed in the English House of Commons directing that relief should at once be sent to the beleagured towns, and we hear that many soldiers and “amunicon” are on their way. The feeling in England was one of intense indignation and disgust at “the more than barbairus behaviour of the bloddy Irishe” and that there was “a unanimus affection and inclinacon utterly to extirpat those inhuman people.” The Earl, in speaking of the rebellion, says that “the heart of man cannot conceave nor the tongue of man express the miserable and dangerous state wherin this Kingdom is. It would greeve the soul of any Christian to see the abundance of men and women that com naked out of the country hither without respect of sex or person soe wounded and abused as none but infidells that know not god would doe.” But savage and cruel as the Irish had become under the oppression and misrule of England, they met their match and more in Cromwell, when he came eight years later to finally quell the rebellion. His barbarities and severities are handed down traditionally, and to this day “the curse of Cromwell on you” is still used as a term of invective amongst the peasants in Ireland.

But before Ireland was finally quieted, the loyalists had to undergo many hardships and terrible anxiety. The English were dilatory about sending troops to the assistance of those hard pressed loyalists, and

delay was partly caused by King Charles' carelessness in business matters. He went to "New Markett to catch hares and neglected all the great affayres of ye Parliament."

Meanwhile the just as well as the unjust suffered from the rebellion. We hear that\* "the soldiers and ennglish tenants in and about Campire Castle have robbed and stripped all ye poore harmless Irish, and that the unruliest rogue belonging to Campfire is one Edward Caine (whose name agreeth with his nature)." The letter then goes on to describe the sad plight of the peasants, and how one man had everything taken from him, and had to come to "Lismore Castle gates with a borrowed sheete only upon his back." The writer says further "I saw last night from ye topp of your slatt hill at least 500 fires between ye Blackwater and Dungarvan, among ye rest Curroche between Dromana and Kilmolushe is layd even with the grounde."

The unfortunate inhabitants of Dromana must have been feeling far from happy all this time, no powder and shot in the Castle, and the enemy triumphing almost at their very gates. In fact, not much more than a month elapsed before the enemy were indeed triumphing right within the gates of Dromana.

On April 15th the Earl makes the following entry in his Diary : "This day Mrs. Meabell Fitz Gerald delivered up her husband's castle of Dromany to the rebels, gerrott and his brother Morris being heer with me in

\* An extract from a letter to the Earl of Cork from Dean Mayler, of Lismoor, dated March 3rd, 1642.

Youghall ; thereupon I sent 12 musketeers to guard Templemighell."

One cannot help drawing a comparison between the timid-spirited English chatelaine of Dromana and her Irish predecessor, Ellen Fitzgibbon, who, it will be remembered, not only repulsed the emissaries of the Earl of Cork when they tried to gain entrance to Dromana, but furthermore, sallied forth on her own account and took her neighbour at Camphire prisoner, and "terrified and threatened his uncle Thomas."

One feels that if Ellen had still reigned at Dromana the rebels would have to have pulled the Castle stone from stone before they were allowed to obtain possession of it. However, the English Mabel had allowed the rebels in, and the question now was, how to drive them out again. To possess Dromana meant also to possess the freedom of the river, so it was all important for the Earl's party to win back the Castle.

The weeks grew into months, and the rebels continued in possession. Finally, one of the Earl's sons would seem to have written to Lord Inchiquin, the President of Munster, for advice, for there is a letter among the Lismore Papers evidently addressed to one of the Earl's family, which is endorsed thus, "29th Sept., 1642. From Lord Inchiquin touching the seidge of Drumana."

"Right hon<sup>ble</sup>," the letters begin, "I am very hartely sorry that to the rest of the many impediments arising to the seidge of Dromanna, my Lord of Barrymore's indisposition should concurre, which I hope will not so

continue upon him but that that impediment will bee removed. I am also very hartely sorry that by inexperience and want of a perfect knowledge in the place I am unable to give either judgement or advise in the matter, but must refer the managing and disposure of that affaire unto my Lord of Barrymore, yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup> and my Lord of Broghill; but not without imparting what I observe upon the mapp; by which it seems unto mee by gayning the wall on the garden side which I consider may bee fiziably done if the Turrett standing this same side with the gate house bee as demonstrated; when that wall has been secured for our men, and a breach made in it and the ordnance to be planted therein against a chimney, which stands on that side of the house; in which a breach being made I conceive the entry would not bee difficult. Yet hearin I propose or enjoyne nothing but what shall sute with yo<sup>r</sup> resolutions, which by being upon the place, are better able to give a judgement of what is to be done hearin; only I shall desire that in case it bee not determined fitt to sitte downe before the Castle, that your Lo<sup>p</sup> would returne back those auxilliaryes sent from Moyallo, Donneraile and this toune, and take care to settle such warde in Affane, Tourine and Camphyre as may reserve those parts in such a condicon as yo Lo<sup>p</sup> mentioneth; and that this may bee the more conveniently done I shall suddanely settle two companyes more at Castle Lyons. And now to give your Lo<sup>p</sup> an accompt of the proposicon you make for Dungarvan. I shall only remonstrate unto yo<sup>r</sup> Lo<sup>p</sup> in how unfitt a condicon wee are to enterprise any such thing."

The rest of the letter treats of other matters, such as the scarceness of provisions, ammunition and soldiers. This communication from Lord Inchiquin gives one an interesting glimpse of the way in which the campaign against the rebels was being conducted by the Protestants of Munster.

Unfortunately, there is no record to be found about the fact about the fate of Dromana at this period, but even if the loyalists did gain the Castle they lost it again, for four years later we read of it still being in the hands of the enemy.

Meanwhile the rebellion continued to rage all through Munster, and many letters were sent to the Great Earl asking him for advice and aid. One rather interesting letter was written by Captain Croker, who commanded the garrison at Cappoquin, complaining to the Earl that the pinnace which had been sent from Youghal to Dromana and Camphire "to furnish both with men, never came nere mee to give me any conforte or to give me any helpe." He begs for "twenty musketts and a littell pouder," for he says, "I could not prevail if this place was lost, for then all the parts of the county were lost too." The letter further says that communication is cut off between Sir Richard Osburne at Knockmoane and the garrisons of Cappoquin and Lismore, and that several letters have been intercepted, and that he fears Sir Richard is in distress. Alas, indeed, Sir Richard Osburne and many other brave-hearted loyalists were in a sad way. They continued gallantly to defend their beleaguered homes, buoyed up with promises of speedy

succour from England. However, the months passed on and England made no move. A rumour spread that “seaven great ships of warr with 1000 land soldiers was to goe to Ireland to land in all places on the costs of Munster, where they shall see their best advantages for to burne, kill and spoyle the enemies and to take what pillage they can.” But the rumour did not become a reality, and the Earl sadly observes, “it is feared that so long as the Kinge and the parliament draw severall wayses the tymely succors which would soon reduce Munster will be wanting.” Meanwhile the “poore handfull of British Protestants” retaliated to the utmost of their power, and in spite of the Earl’s righteous indignation at the cruelties practised by the Irish, one does not find that his side were much more merciful. Lord Inchiquin writes to him and says, “yor sonn my Ld. Kynalmeaky hath done wonderfull good service in the West: he hath taken the Castle of Carygnars and burned it and all in it, man woman and chylde.” The cruelties practised on both sides were indeed appalling, but feeling ran high, and there was no space found for calm judgment. In fact, now after the lapse of centuries, it is difficult to weigh matters fairly and see how much there is to be said for both the dispossessed Irish land-owners and the English settlers who had supplanted them.

In 1643 the Great Earl died, worn out with anxiety 1643 and hardships, and heart-broken at the loss of all his carefully amassed property. He was buried in the Chapel in Youghal Church, on the building of which he had

spent so much time and money. He was certainly a very remarkable character, and the strength of his dominant personality never showed to greater advantage than during the disastrous rebellion that embittered the latter part of his life. He continued to write his Diary until the year of his death, and it is with very real regret that one reaches the last page of the uniquely interesting work, without the assistance of which the history of Dromana would, for the first forty years of the seventeenth century, have been an almost absolute blank.

Gerald Fitz Gerald of Dromana died in the same year (1643) as the Great Earl. It is more than probable he met his death while fighting against the rebels, for he was quite a young man when he died. His son John, at this time about eight years of age, succeeded to his father's property, which the royalists had not yet succeeded in wresting from the rebels.

The years passed on, and the fair fields of Ireland continued to be reddened with the blood of her children. The Pope sent over as Nuncio Archbishop Baptist Rinucini, but he, far from helping to bring peace, brought a sword and stirred up fresh enmities. He rushed from pulpit to pulpit, urging the re-establishment of the Catholic religion and the necessity for Ireland to part from England and join herself to one or other of the Catholic Powers. England being then engaged in a Civil War, it seemed a favourable time to preach this gospel.

The Earl of Ormond, whom King Charles had appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, prevented peace being made by his double dealing with both King and Parliament.

Finally in 1647, seeing that the King's power was on the wane, he delivered up Dublin to the Parliamentarians and went to France.

The President of Munster, Lord Inchiquin, known as "that poor panther Inchiquin," from the habit he had of bounding from one party to another, and allying himself with them as occasion suited, was now the most important leader in the South of Ireland. He had been a strong loyalist, but about the time that Ormond dealt the death-blow to King Charles' cause in Ireland by abandoning Dublin, Lord Inchiquin joined the Parliamentarians, and made a successful effort to win back Munster from the rebels in their interests.

We have an account of his proceedings in a letter from one of his officers. It is thus endorsed "a letter from a person of quality in the Parliamentary Army In Munster in Ireland, to an Honourable member of the House of Commons, with a particular relation of the taking of the Castle of Dromannagh, the Castle, Town, and Garrison of Cappoquin, both lying on the Blackwater : And the Castle, Towne, and Port of Dungarvan, being one of the Rebelle principall Sea-Towns in Munster, by the Parliaments Forces under the command of Lord Inchiquin, Lord President of Munster."

\* The letter itself runs thus : -

"SIR,

" In my last letter I made a discovery unto you of some fears, that the enemy upon many alarms given

\* This letter is preserved in the British Museum (E.388 (12) Small 4to).

unto them by our flight, and in considerable parties, would have fortified their frontier Garrisons, to a resolution of defending them against us, and to have put us to a weary siege, for the reducing of those Holds, which at the first of the Spring might have been taken in with much facility. What I then conceived, was (I believe) at that time their intention, they received into each of those places, strong guards to secure them against any opposition we could make against them, but God who hath the hearts of all men in His hands, hath bereaved them of theirs, disappointed their resolutions, and produce no other effects out of all their contrivements, but Glory to Himselfe and Honor to His servants, for he hath already delivered into our hands those Garrisons which were a terror to all our Quarters, Drummana, Cappoquin, and Dungarvan, and without any great expense, either of time or bloud. It was, Sir, I confesse, the subject of much admiration to us all, and I hope we shall continue the memory thereof amongst us, as an incitement to thanksgiving to our God. The manner of their reducing being notorious and publike, will, I doubt not, come to your knowledge by the pens of many others. Yet I send you enclosed a particular of their several proceedings, and may not omit to give you some account of the behaviour of the Lord President herein, whose vigilancy and forwardnesse was so great that we may justly call his personal actions, the chieftest instrument, under God, of effecting those designes, though he were Generall of the Army, and had those others under him

who could well answer the expectation of their own employments, in paying the Batteries, in drawing on their guns, in observing places of advantage for our Cannon, and the like, yet he thought it no dishonour to act their severall officers for the expediting of the service, knowing that the Souldier is more provoked to diligence and gallantry by example than by precept.

Sir, God hath placed you amongst the number of those worthies, who have so charitably undertaken the management of this unquestioned just war : We are now in a faire proceeding to effect something upon the enemies of the Church ; as a poor member whereof, I offer up my prayers unto God, that a timely assistance may be sent unto us in this day of opportunity. You have begun nobly, in God's name goe on."

The letter ends with a hope that food may be sent to "give us growth and vigors," and it is signed,

"Sir,

" Your most humble servant,

" B.M.

" Dungay, 10th May, 1647."

Appended to the letter is a document headed—"A Relation of the taking in of the Castle of Dromannagh, and the Castle, Towne and Garrison of Cappoquin." The subject matter is as follows—"About the 26th of the last moneth, the Lord President marched forth, with the Army towards, the Black-water side, and sat down before the Castle of Dromannagh a strong hold of the Rebbles which hath greatly annoyed our Quarters, and having made a small brech in the out works whereon an assault

was given by our men who drove the Rebels to retreat into their castle. The officers considering the same to be a place of much strength, and likely to cost a great expense of blood, and some waste of time, their principall design being upon Cappoquin (a passe of greater importance) did condescend to accept the Castle of Dromannagh at the hands of the destroyers upon quarter only for life and their wearing apparell, and accordingly on Fryday the last of April that place was surrendered to the Lord President, wherein was found very little booty, they having a long time expected a siege and disposed of all things which were of value out of their Castle, wherein there were only foure barrels of powder, a proportion of match, one or two small pieces of Ordnance, some Murtherers Sling peeces and about 100 Armes, the ward consisting of about 60 men.

" From hence the Lord President having intelligence of a fresh supply that night to be sent unto Cappoquin immediately dispatched away all the Horse-forces to face that Garrison, and surrounded it till the Foot drew up, which proved to be so seasonably done that the supply of match and powder being upon the way to that place under the convoy of a regiment of Foot, and three Troopes of Horse, was upon the appearance of our Horse force to retreat in some haste to Clonmell, this disappointment of their Munition (we afterwards discovered) occasioned them upon the first summons to embrace a treaty, and the second of May to give up, upon quarter, to march away with bag and baggage, except such of our owne men as should be there found and had runne from

their colours all which to the number of 23, we condemned to be hanged.

"So we gained that important passe, and the forementioned Castle with the loss of only two men, and about six hurt, without any great expense of time or munition. This place will be an excellent Garrison, both in respect of securing our own quarters, and annoying the Rebels for which it is most commodiously seated, having a strong castle to countenance the town and outworks, and a brigade also very well fortified with a defensible work at the furthest end from the town.

"The President being possessed of this place drew the whole army into it and the adjoyning villages to shelter themselves from the violence of the weather, which then proved to be exceedingly wet and foule, giving great impediment to our progresse, but for our encouragement it pleased God that about the same instant there arrived Collonel Temple with his regiment of Horse, and soon after a ship laden with corn, and the Admiral with 5000 pound in Spanish money, and now the Lord President being forced to spend a little time in the settling and disposing these new forces, which he had no sooner dispatched, but he ordered the remove of the army from Cappoquin to Dungarvan, a sea towne well walled and fortified, and one of the Rebels' chief Ports in Munster, and a receptacle for their pyrates and Dankirk friggots." The rest of the letter treats of the difficulties encountered in the march to Dungarvan, which forced Lord Inchiquin to "hyre souldiers for money to helpe forward both the Ordnance and other necessaries," and

how he was finally successful and drove the enemy from the Castle and town of Dungarvan.

This letter, besides giving one an interesting contemporary glimpse of the Irish rebellion, is a valuable link in the history of Dromana, for without it we should never have known how the Castle was finally restored to its rightful owner, John Fitz Gerald.

John was at this time still a boy of tender years, and this fact had doubtless a beneficial effect on the fortunes of the family, for not even the avaricious Cromwellians could frame an excuse for depriving of his property, a boy, whose father had died a loyal Protestant.

In the year 1649, about six months after the death of King Charles, Cromwell landed in Ireland with an army of 13,000 men fully determined to quell the rebellion. His first exploit was the taking of Drogheda, where he cruelly massacred the whole garrison and a great number of the townspeople. From Drogheda Cromwell marched south gaining all the important places on the way. Finally his army was attacked by sickness, and he heard not without thankfulness the news that Lord Inchiquin's garrison in Youghal, Cork, Mallow, Kinsale and Bandon had revolted from the royalist cause and declared for the Parliament. From that date onward the reduction of Ireland was complete.

The severities and cruelties of the Great Protector (for one cannot deny the element of greatness to the Psalm-singing hypocrite) have become a bye word, but his ruthlessness during the actual progress of the war,

has not brought such execration on his memory as has his subsequent inhuman treatment of the Irish. Cromwell actually sold numbers of Irish women and children as slaves in Barbadoes, and the victims were seized in such a wholesale manner that it was not until some of his own soldiers' wives were taken for slaves, that there was a limit put on this practice.

More widespread in its effect was the transplanting of Irish Catholic land owners to the barren parts of Connaught. These unfortunates were driven from their homes at the point of the sword, so that it was indeed a true saying "to Hell or Connaught." It has been estimated that out of a population of a million and a half, six hundred thousand people had totally disappeared by the time Cromwell had finished his work in Ireland.

In 1658, not long before the death of Cromwell and 1658 the restoration of Charles II. to the throne, John FitzGerald of Dromana having come to man's estate took unto himself as a wife, Katherine, daughter of John Power, 5th Lord Power, Baron of Carroghmore. As the Power family had several times intermarried with the Dromana family it will not be out of place to give here a slight sketch of their early history.

The Powers, La Powers, or La Poers, as they are severally called, are of very ancient extraction. They were Counts of Pohor in Brittany in the tenth century, and it is said that one of the family emigrated to England and that his descendants founded the family of Power. Other authorities state that the Powers are descended from a certain Hugh de Bellmont son of the Earl of

Leicester, who was created in 1138, Earl of Bedford. He afterwards lost all his money and was deprived of his Earldom and surnamed Pauper, and the name Pauper gradually evolved into Power it is supposed.

Whatever may be the truth of these theories the Poers (or Powers) were certainly an influential and well-known family in England in the twelfth century, but the name was unknown in Ireland, till a certain Sir Robert de Poher, son of Sir Batholomew de Poher, Lord of Blackborough in Devonshire, accompanied Henry II. to Ireland in 1172. The King granted to him in 1177 the custody of the City of Waterford and part of the adjacent province. His eldest son was Sir John de Poher, first Baron of Donoyle,\* and it was the third son of

\* Nicholas Poer, one of the Barons of Donoyle, married Sheila Fitz Gerald, daughter of Sir John Fitz Gerald of Dromana, and sister to Katherine, the long-lived Countess of Desmond. Nicholas is mentioned in the Presentments of juries of the County Waterford in 1537. John Power (the great grandson of Nicholas), who was the last Baron of Donoyle, also married a daughter of Dromana, Giles Fitz Gerald, sister to Gerald Fitz Gerald, who aided the Earl of Cork in the rebellion. The following story is told of the brave way in which Giles defended her husband's castle against Cromwell. "The Castle of Dunhill, situated on the sea coast beyond Tramore, was bravely defended by a lady. It was built on a rock almost inaccessible. For a long time it resisted the attack, though artillery was used to make a breach in its outworks. At length it yielded. The chatelaine was the life and soul of the defenders. Day and night she was on the ramparts animating by her presence and energy the spirits of the garrison. She had, it seems, a skilful engineer, who defeated all the plans of the besiegers. One day she retired to rest, but she neglected to provide for the wants of her weary soldiers. Her engineer sent to demand refreshment for himself and his comrades; he received in return the unwarlike meed of a drink of buttermilk. Irritated at the insult, he made signals to the foe, who actually had raised the siege, and were marching off, and surrendered to them the castle. It was forthwith blown up with gunpowder." It is said that the brave Giles perished among the ruins. The Baron of Donoyle was "transplanted" into Connaught, and his estates confiscated.

the first Baron of Donoyle who is said to have built the ancient Castle of Curraghmore and to have founded the Curraghmore branch of the Power family.

Sir Richard Power of Carraghmore was created 13th of September, 1535, Baron de la Power and Coroghmore. His father was Sir Peiers Power, of Curraghmore, and his mother was a Fitz Gerald of Dromana. Thus it will be seen that John Fitz Gerald in marrying Katherine Power was but following an old precedent.

Katherine must have been a lady of some firmness of character. She lived in very troubled times and played a dangerous, difficult role with some skill. Her father, who was born in 1601, was one of the boys of the Irish aristocracy, whom James I. caused to be brought up at Lambeth under the charge of the Archbishop of Canterbury, so that they might be bred up in the Protestant faith. (However, in the Callender of State Papers it is recorded that Lord Power afterwards returned to the Catholic faith. When Cromwell arrived in Ireland the Baron, or more probably his friends in his behalf (he not being in his right mind), applied for protection, this Cromwell granted. It is couched in the following terms :—

“These are to require and strictly to charge all officers soldiers and all others under my command as they parse by or quarter at ye habitation of ye Lord John Power Lord Baron of Curraghmore in ye county of Waterford, who is taken into my special protection that they comport themselves peacefully and friendly towards his person, family, goods and habitation and any thing

to him appertaining, without offering violence injury or damage, as they will answer to the utmost peril.

“Given under my hand and seale at Dublin this twentieth of Sept 1649.

“(Signed) O. CROMWELL.”

The following incident is said to have happened when Cromwell visited Curraghmore. “It chanced,”\* runs the story, “that the Lord of Coroghmoe had a shrewd daughter, who, knowing her father to be a staunch royalist, devised a plan to save him, and cleverly put it into execution. She contrived to entice the old man into one of the dungeons of the Castle, and there she safely bolted and barred him in. She then received Cromwell at the door and placed the key of the Castle in his hands. She assured him, that although her father had thought it prudent to remove for a time out of the way, he was not only well disposed towards the ruling powers, but willing to give any proof of his allegiance that might be required. The consequence was, that Carraghmore remained in possession of its Lord.”

Katherine, referred to as a “shrewd daughter,” continued to manage her family’s affairs with equal skill. In 1653 she petitioned, setting forth the “necessity of herself and her grandmother, who is very aged and hath no means to subsist, a great part of the estates having been seized for publique service, and neither of them have now any meanes of lively hood if not relieved from the publique.” Thereupon a grant of

\* See Sir B. Burke’s “Romance of the Aristocracy,” Vol. I., p. 81.



*Portrait at] KATHERINE. [Dromana.*  
DAUGHTER OF LORD POWER OF CURRAGHMORE. MARRIED  
SIR JOHN FITZGERALD OF DROMANA.]



twenty shillings a week was made them, the order being dated at Dublin 21st of March the same year. Katherine must have led a very chequered existence and had many difficulties to contend with. In 1654 we find her brother petitioning against "transplantation" for himself and his father.\* The petition for pardon was based on the plea that "John Lord Power Lord Baron of Curraghmore" is a lunatique and hath bin so these four or five and twenty yeares past" and recommending that his estates and person should be put under the guardianship of "Katherine Power, daughter of ye said Lord Power (of whom we are well satisfied) touching her good behaviour and capacity for ye same, being bredd up from her infancy in the Protestant Religion and hath hitherto constantly professed the same."

The above recommendation to appoint Katherine as guardian to her father was adopted and she retained the guardianship for several years, entering into law suits and drawing up petitions. She was evidently very strong-minded and a good business woman, and she managed affairs at Curraghmore up to the date of her marriage with John Fitz Gerald of Dromana in 1658, when she petitioned to be relieved of the guardianship.

Katherine's new home was not so very far away from her old one, for Dromana is but thirty miles from Curraghmore. One wonders very much if Katherine guided her new household with as capable a hand as she had managed her old one. If so she must have

\* Nineteen out of a total of seventy-nine persons transplanted from the County Waterford were Powers.

been a great comfort to her young husband. Her reign as chatelaine of Dromana was a brief one, for she died on the 22nd of August, 1660, leaving behind her a daughter, who, like her mother, was given the name of Katherine.

John Fitz Gerald thus left a widower while still little more than a boy, soon contracted another marriage, choosing as a second wife, a lady called Helen Mc Carthy, a daughter of Donoyle, Earl of Clancartay. John had no children by his second marriage, and when he died in 1664, his daughter Katherine was left as the sole heiress of all his broad acres.

Katherine became the ward of her uncle, Lord Power of Curraghmore, who, in many ways, would seem to have been an efficient guardian. However, in 1673, being over-desirous of gaining a rich inheritance for his family, he quite unjustifiably arranged a marriage between his eldest surviving son, John Power, and the heiress of Dromana. The ceremony was performed before Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, and took place in the chapel of Lambeth, the bride being but thirteen years of age and the bridegroom only seven.

On the 9th of October in the same year, Richard Lord Power by letters Patent dated from Westminister, was created Earl of Tyrone and Viscount Decies, with limitations, to his direct male issue. Some two years after her uncle's elevation to the Earldom, the Lady of Decies, as Katherine was called, entered a protest against her marriage with the Earl's son, as "she disagreed to the same," and on the 10th May, 1675 she, in company with several witnesses, appeared before the



[*Portrait at Dromana.*]

KATHERINE FITZGERALD OF DROMANA,  
LADY OF THE DECIES, AFTERWARDS KATHERINE VILLIERS,  
LADY GRANDISON.



Archbishop of Canterbury, and made the following protest:—

“ In the name of God. Amen. Whereas I Katherine Fitz Gerald, sole daughter and heiress of John Fitz-Gerald, late of the Decies and County of Waterford within the kingdom of Ireland, deceased, did on or about the 20th of May Anno Domini 1673. without due consideration, or the consent of my guardians—intrusted by my late father, solemnize or contract marriage or esposals, or rather the show and form thereof, with the Right Honourable John now Lord Decies, then the Hon. John Power alias le Power Esquire, an infant of the age of seven years, which said contract was performed and celebrated the day and year above said, before his Grace the Most Reverend Father in God, Gilbert Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan and divers other witnesses, being now at my own perfect liberty and having freedome to express my voluntary and spontaneous inclination as to the same and to set forth the means whereby I was there unto induced.

“ I do by these presents before your Grace, the notary publique and other witnesses hereunto subscribed, protest, aver and declare for the truth, that the said contract or rather show and form there off, was unduly and contrary to my own pure will and good liking obtained from me, and that I had not expressed or given any colour of consent there unto, by imoderate importunity threats, fear and the false

suggestions of loosing the estate in Ireland descended unto me by the death of my late father, and for as much as I have bin hitherto restrained and hindered from manifestation of my dislike and dissent to the said pretended contract (which if I had enjoyed my perfect liberty. I should otherwise have done) I doe by these presents totally and absolutely disclaim, renounce and recede from the same and every part thereof, and we declare that there lyes no obligation upon me for either the perfection or consummation of the said pretended espousals or contract of marriage with the said R<sup>t</sup> Hon. John Lord Decies, for or by reason of any consent by me pretended to be interposed in manner as afore said, but "that the same was, and is in itself null and void, and to all intents and purposes either in relation to my person or estate) is and ought to be esteemed and adjudged as an act utterly invalid and ineffectual, and I doe desire the witnesses here present to beare testimony hereof and the same may be intended amongst the records and muniments of your Graces principal Registry and letters testimonial hereof and the same may be entered, made and delivered unto me for the better creditt and confirmation of the truth of all and singular the premisses.

"Given under my hand and seal this tenth day of May in the year of our Lord 1675 signed

"KATHERINE FITZGERALD."

One can judge from the foregoing forcibly-worded protest that Katherine had inherited something of her

mother's spirit, and even at the age of sixteen she must have been independent in action and in speech. Her Uncle, the Earl of Tyrone, seems to have been loth to relinquish the broad acres of Dromana, and continued to assert that Katherine's marriage with his son was legal and binding. Finally, the hard-pressed heiress of Dromana appealed to Charless II. for protection, and he, ever willing to succour beauty in distress, took up her side of the quarrel.

On September 21st, 1675, Katherine wrote the following letter from Whitehall to her Uncle, Richard Francklin, then residing at Dromana. The letter begins thus :—

" DEAR UNCLE,

" Yrs of the seaventh of this month came to my hands a saturday last with ye long expected newes of yo<sup>r</sup> safe arrival at Youghall and yo<sup>r</sup> good successe with my servants, both wch rejoiced me extreamly. As to that of Mr. Theophilus Jones, my Lord of Ossory hath acquainted the King with itt, whereupon Mr. Mulys appointed to draw a letter to be sent from his Ma<sup>tie</sup> to Theophilus for the stopping of any proceeding to be made by him therein. My Lord of Ossory did likewise desire his Ma<sup>tie</sup> that a patent should be granted unto me of my estate, whereunto the King answered that it should be done whenever I pleased, according to my former promise that I would not marry anyone without first acquainting you of itt. I thought fitt to lett you know that the Earle of Lon-

donderry is become my humble servant whose estate (is said to be worth £4,500 per ann) Wherefore Lister desires me to enquire of his Estate, and in your next to give your advice therin. I pray lett the £200 which I wrote for, be sent as soon as you can for I am sure you cannot be ignorant of my present want thereof. And as to the reference wh<sup>ch</sup> you wrote of there is no such thing, neither was it in the least mentioned to me or my Lord of Ossory but Tyrone is just as he was when you were here. And pray remember my duty to my grandmother, my service to my Aunt and love to my couzens, which is all at present from

“ Yo<sup>re</sup> affectionate niece and servant,  
“ KATHERINE FITZGERALD.”

In this letter Katherine acts and speaks as though her marriage was null and void, but I imagine that writing of the Earl of Londonderry as having become “her humble servant” and dutifully asking her Uncle’s opinion as to his qualifications as a husband was something of a blind. As we shall see later on she must have had far different plans in her head at this time.

Katherine’s guardians and friends were not at ease about the attitude taken by the Earl of Tyrone concerning her early marriage with Lord Decies. There were evidently plots on foot. On the same sheet of paper on which Katherine’s letter is written to Mr. Francklin, her Uncle, there is a short note from young Mr. Francklin to his father. It begins thus:—“ Finding

this conveniency of my cozens letter I thought fitt to present my Duty to you and my mother in these lines and likewise to lett you understand that all your friends are in good health. Mrs. Lister remembers her to you and advises you to trust noe body but be careful of your owne interests." Further on in the letter there is a warning against a certain Mr. Uniack, for the writer says "on Saturday last when I went to his chambers I found a note in his keyhole wherein I read that the Earl of Tyrone desired to speake with him but upon what account I know not. Colonel Legg and his Lady desire to be remembered to you and my mother; he told me that it was the Earle of Tyrone did put Mr. Theophilus Jones upon that business of Comeragh." The letter is signed

"Yor dutifull son and humble servant,

"RICHARD FRANCKLIN."

One is lead to think, after reading the letter of warning from Richard Francklin, that the Earl of Tyrone must have been conducting himself somewhat after the manner of the villain in a Drury Lane Melodrama.

If the Earl could play a double game, and stick mysterious slips of paper into key holes, and privately tell his agents to make things disagreeable on the Dromana estates, his niece was more than equal to him, and could play the same game with even more perfect skill.

In order to throw dust into the eyes of her Uncle, Mr. Francklin, Katherine, as we have seen, gave him to understand she was contemplating a marriage with Lord Londonderry, and probably to let her other Uncle, Lord Tyrone, gain the impression that she might be going to act dutifully and allow the validity of her marriage with his son, Lord Decies, she left Whitehall and went to reside in the house of the Earl of Anglesea (grandfather to Lord Decies).

However, the pretty willful heiress did not intend to marry either Lord Londonderry or Lord Decies, and she clandestinely left Lord Anglesea's house on Easter Even, 1676, and made a run-away marriage with Edward Villiers, eldest son of George, IVth Viscount Grandison.\*

In thus marrying Edward Villiers, Katherine was apparently doing a very reckless thing. To begin with, her first marriage had not then been lawfully annulled, and she married again, despite the inhibition of the Court of Arches. She also offended her guardians, and, furthermore, the Earl of Tyrone kept possession of her property in the name of his son. Luckily Katherine and her husband held trump cards, for though Edward Villiers did not seem to be a very important person, or to hold any great stake in the world (being in truth but a gay guardsman with nothing much to recommend him but a handsome face) yet it happened that he was first cousin to Charles II's. favourite, Barbara Villiers,

\* George, IVth Viscount Grandison, was the third son of Sir Edward Villiers, the Governor of Munster. He succeeded to the title on the death of his two elder brothers, William and John.

Duchess of Cleveland, whose great influence at Court was only too well known. Probably the headstrong young couple counted on her powerful aid to help them to extricate themselves from the uncomfortable position in which their hastily contracted marriage had landed them. As we shall see their anticipations were amply fulfilled.

In the May following their marriage, Edward and Katherine Villiers filed a bill in the Chancery of Ireland to oblige the Earl of Tyrone to give up the title deeds of the Manors and lands belonging to "the Lady of the Decies," and also to account for the rents. The Earl answered the Bill on the 17th October, and while admitting the plaintiffs were married "de facto" denied they were "de jure," and he further set forth the fact of Katherine's marriage with his son, and he said that she had subscribed her name and taken her place as Viscountess Decies, and that she had clandestinely left Lord Anglesea's house.

One cannot help seeing that the Earl had a great deal of right on his side, and things might have gone very badly for Katherine and Edward had not an opportune and doubtless expected order come from Court desiring that the replication in the suit should be taken off the files.

From that time forth Katherine's troubles were at an end, and she and her husband were able to enjoy, undisturbed, the considerable property her father had left her

and the validity of her marriage with Edward Villiers was never again questioned.

The young people doubtless passed much of their time at Dromana, and there are legends still existing anent the wild doings of the Brigadier, as Katherine's husband was always called. He is said to have bled his little page to death to see if it was 'a painful way of quitting the world, but on what foundation the story rests it would be difficult to say, except that in the corner of the Brigadiers' portrait a little page with a very white face is depicted, looking up at his master in an awed way. Likewise the Brigadier's unquiet ghost has been heard in the middle of the night clanking about the corridors and passages at Dromana, and this has been taken as conclusive evidence of his guilt! Another story of a still more lurid nature is told. It would seem that a certain old widow, one of the Dromana tenants, had two sons who were always quarrelling. Things at length came to such a desperate pass that the mother, as a last resource, sent her sons to the Brigadier and begged that he would try and make peace between them. This he did by hanging one of the sons and sending the survivor back to his mother with a message to say there would be no more quarrels since one son was dead. Whereupon the widow is said to have laid her curse on Edward and his descendants unto the third and fourth generation.

That the Brigadier lived to retrieve the wild deeds of his youth, is shown by his appointment to the post of Governor of the County and City of Waterford on January 5, 1691. Records show him to have been a



[*Portrait at Dromana.*]

BRIGADIER EDWARD VILLIERS,  
GOVERNOR OF WATERFORD.

MARRIED TO CATHERINE FITZGERALD, HEIRESS OF DROMANA  
AND LADY OF THE DECIES.



distinguished and trusted officer in Marlborough's campaign in the South of Ireland in 1690. This General in a letter to Count Solmes says : "The King desires that you would send Villiers to me that I might know what progress he has made in his correspondence in Kinsale," and Ginkel in a letter to Marlborough on the situation in Ireland says : "I send with this an account of the ammunition and stores that will come to you by sea from Waterford. Villiers is already with Count Schravenor."

The Brigadier fought at the siege of Cork (which city is about 30 miles from Dromana) side by side with the Duke of Grafton, who lost his life during that siege. By a curious coincidence their portraits hang on the same wall at Dromana ; doubtless the beautiful picture of the Duke was brought there by his comrade in arms. After the surrender of Cork, Count Schravenor writes to Sir George Clarke, "as Neuhansel could not speak English, Brigadier Villiers was sent to parley with him."

Neuhansel and Villiers were then sent with a detachment of 500 select horse and Dragoons against Kinsale, which was called the Key of Ireland. Sir F. Scott, its Governor, had ordered the town to be burned, and fagots had been laid against every house, but before the order had been effectually carried out, Villiers made a charge into the town and captured it. He sent a trumpeter to the Governor and the garrison, offering to make them prisoners of war if they surrendered, with the alternative of being certainly hung. The Governor

answered haughtily, and threatened to hang the trumpeter for bringing such terms, and the Commander O'Sullivan swore that he would hold out to the last man. Villiers then asked Marlborough for three more regiments of foot, and two or three additional guns. This request was granted with extreme promptitude, and the reinforcements arrived the very next day. After a gallant defence the old fort of Kinsale fell. I am happy to say that the lives of the brave defenders were spared, though many perished by drowning, and many more were blown up in the fort.

No doubt it was for his valuable services in the campaign that Villiers was made Governor of Waterford.\* We can trace in Dalton's Army List the succeeding steps in his promotion, beginning with his commission to be Cornet and Captain to the King's troop of Horse Guards, October 26th, 1670, to his final position as Governor of Waterford.

The last military record we have of him is in the payments of the army for 1690 and 1691, which are preserved in the Record Office in Dublin.

We know nothing of the details of his death in 1693, with the exception of a casual mention of his funeral charges found in a curious old list of household expenses, headed "Payments made by the Hon. Katherine Ffitzgerald Villiers out of the personell estate since the decease of the

\* See *Villare Hibernicum*, British Museum, and the Clarke Manuscripts, Trinity College, Dublin, for the description of this campaign.

Brigadeere Villiers," in which we find the following 1690 item:—

	£ s. d.
For the funeral charges of Brigadeere Villiers ... ... ... ...	147 10 2
For cloath and velvet for ye coffin ...	11 5 0

From the quaint and rather pathetic memorandum which has survived so many generations we are permitted to judge that the "Brigadeere" was buried as became his state, and that no expense was spared.

A short time after the death of Edward Villiers, John Power, Katherine's first husband, had also died, and one cannot help pausing to wonder if she ever felt a soft thought or had a kindly feeling for her cousin and boy husband, or if he had any affection for her. He certainly died unmarried, but Katherine was not the only lady in his life, and there is a curious story told of him in connection with a certain Miss Hamilton, for whom he appears to have felt a warm friendship, though we are told it was of a platonic nature. The story which I deem of sufficient interest to find a place in this book originated thus:—John and Miss Hamilton (afterwards Lady Beresford) knew each other as children, and were both brought up in the principles of Deism. As they grew older they felt much doubt as to what was the true belief, and they entered into a solemn engagement to the effect that should it prove possible, the one that should happen to die first would reappear to the other and solve the doubts of the survivor. In 1690 John's father (Katherine's high handed uncle Richard) died in the Tower of

London, and he became Earl of Tyrone in his stead, but he died on the 14th of October, three years afterwards. True to his promise his spirit appeared to Lady Beresford, and the story is thus told in the annals of the Power family.

"In the month of October, Anno Domini 1693, Lady Beresford with her husband, Sir Tristram, were on a visit at Gill-hall, in the county of Down, the residence of Sir John MaGill, her brother-in-law, when one morning Sir Tristram remarked that when his lady came down to breakfast her countenance was disturbed ; and, inquiring of her health, she assured him she was quite well. He then asked her if she had hurt her wrist. "Have you sprained it ?" said he, observing a black riband round it. She answered in the negative, and added, "Let me conjure you," Sir Tristram, never to inquire the cause of my wearing this riband ; you will never see me without it. If it concerns you as a husband to know, I would not for a moment conceal it. I never in my life denied you a request, but of this I entreat you to forgive me the refusal, and never to urge me further on the subject."

"Very well," said he, smiling, "since you beg of me so earnestly, I will inquire no more." The conversation here ended, but breakfast was scarce over when Lady Beresford eagerly inquired if the post was come in ; she was told it was not. In a few minutes she rang again and repeated the inquiry ; she was again answered as at first. "Do you expect letters ?" said Sir Tristram, "that you are so anxious for the arrival of the post ?" "I do," she said, I expect to hear that Lord Tyrone is

dead ; " he died last Tuesday at four o'clock." " I never in my life," said Sir Tristram, " believed you to be superstitious, some idle dream has surely thus alarmed you." At that instant the servant entered, and delivered to them a letter sealed with black. " It is as I expected," exclaimed Lady Beresford, " Lord Tyrone is dead." Sir Tristram opened the letter, it came from Lord Tyrone's steward, and contained the melancholy intelligence of his master's death, and on the very day and hour Lady Beresford had before specified.

" Sir Tristram begged Lady Beresford to compose herself, and she assured him she felt much easier than she had for a long time, and added : " I can communicate intelligence to you which I know will prove welcome ; I can assure you, beyond the possibility of a doubt that I shall in some months present you with a son." Sir Tristram received this news with the greatest joy. After some months Lady Beresford was delivered of a son, born in July, 1694. (She had before been the mother of only two daughters). Sir Tristram survived the birth of his son for seven years. After his decease, his widow seldom left home." The only family she visited was that of Jackson, cousins of her late husband. " With them she frequently passed a few hours every day—the rest of her time was spent in solitude—and she appeared for ever to banish all other society. Mrs. Jackson, however, had a brother, Col. Richard Georges, to whom a few years after Sir Tristram's death, Lady Beresford was married ; but " the marriage was not a happy one, and after having borne him two sons and

two daughters, Lady Beresford insisted upon a separation. They parted for some time, but won over by his supplications, she consented again to reside with him, and became in time the mother of another son. The day on which she had lain in one month, it being the anniversary of her birthday, she sent for her daughter, the Lady Riverston, and a few other friends, amongst whom was Dr. King, Archbishop of Dublin, to request them to spend the day with her. About seven, the clergyman by whom she had been christened, and with whom she had all her lifetime been intimate, came into the room to inquire after her health. She told him she was perfectly well and requested him to spend the day with them—"for," said she, "this is my birthday; I am forty-eight to-day." "No, madam," answered the clergyman, "you are mistaken. Your mother and myself having had many disputes concerning your age, I have at last discovered that I was right. I happened to go last week into the parish where you were born; I searched the register, and find that you are but forty-seven this day." "You have signed my death warrant," she exclaimed. "I have, then, but a few hours to live; I must, therefore, entreat you to leave me immediately, as I have something of importance to settle before I die." When the clergyman had left her, Lady Beresford sent to forbid the company coming, and at the same time to request her son Marcus, then aged nineteen years, her daughter, the Lady Riverston, and the Archbishop of Dublin, to come to her apartment immediately. Upon their arrival, having ordered the attendants to

quit the room ; "I have something," [said she, "of the greatest importance to communicate to you before I die. You, my Lord Archbishop, are no stranger to the friendship which subsisted between my Lord Tyrone and myself; we were educated under the same roof, and in the same principles of Deism. When the friends into whose hands we afterwards fell, endeavoured to persuade us to embrace revealed religion, the arguments, though insufficient to convince, were powerful enough to stagger our former feelings, and to leave us wavering between the two opinions. In this perplexing state of doubt and uncertainty we made a solemn promise to each other, that whichever died first, should, if permitted, appear to the other and declare what religion was most acceptable to God. Accordingly, one night, while on a visit to Gill-hall, when Sir Tristram and myself were in bed, I suddenly awoke and discovered my Lord Tyrone sitting by my bedside. I screamed out and endeavoured to awake Sir Tristram. 'For heaven's sake,' I exclaimed, 'my Lord Tyrone, by what means, or for what reason come you hither at this time of the night?' 'Have you then forgotten our promise?' said he. 'I died last Tuesday at four o'clock, and have been permitted by the Supreme Being to appear to you, to assure you that the revealed religion is the only one by which we can be saved. I am further suffered to inform you that you will bear a son, which it is decreed will marry the heiress of our line. Not many years after his birth Sir Tristram will die, and you will marry again, and to a man by whose ill-treatment you will be rendered

miserable. You will have two sons and two daughters and afterwards another son, in childbirth of whom you will die, in the forty-seventh year of your age.' 'Just heavens,' I exclaimed, 'and cannot I prevent this?' 'Undoubtedly you may,' returned the spectre; 'you are a free agent, and may prevent it all by resisting every temptation to a second marriage; but your passions are strong, you know not their power; hitherto you have had no trials. More I am not permitted to reveal; but if, after this warning, you persist in your infidelity, your lot in another world will be miserable indeed.' 'May I not ask,' said I, 'if you are happy?' 'Had I been otherwise,' he replied, 'I should not have been permitted to appear to you.' 'I may then infer that you are happy.' He smiled. 'But how,' said I, 'when morning comes, shall I know that your appearance to me has been real, and not the mere representation of my own imagination?' 'Will not the news of my death convince you?' 'No,' I returned. 'I might have had such a dream, and that dream accidentally come to pass. I will have some stronger proofs of its reality.' 'You shall,' said he, and, waving his hands, the bed curtains, which were of crimson velvet, were instantly drawn through a large iron hoop, by which the tester of the bed was suspended. 'In that,' said he, 'you cannot be mistaken; no mortal arm could have performed this.' 'True,' said I, 'but while sleeping we are often possessed of far more strength than when awake; though waking I could not have done it, asleep I might, and I shall still doubt.' 'Here is a pocket book; in this,' said he, 'I will write my name with a pencil

on one side of the leaves.' 'Still,' said I, 'in the morning I may doubt; though waking I could not imitate your hand, asleep I might.' 'You are hard of belief,' said he. 'It would injure you irreparably to touch you; it is not for spirits to touch mortal flesh.' 'I do not,' said I 'regard a slight blemish.' 'You are a woman of courage,' replied he, 'hold out your hand.' I did; he struck my wrist—his hand was cold as marble—in a moment the sinews shrank up—every nerve withered. 'Now,' said he, 'while you live, let no mortal eye behold that wrist; to see it is sacrilege.' He stopped. I turned to him again; he was gone. During the time I had conversed with him, my thoughts were perfectly calm and collected; but the moment he was gone I felt chilled with horror; the very bed moved under me. I endeavoured, but in vain to awake Sir Tristram—all my attempts were ineffectual—and in this state of agitation and terror I lay for some time, when a shower of tears came to my relief and I dropped asleep. In the morning Sir Tristram arose and dressed himself as usual without perceiving the state the curtains remained in. When I awoke I found Sir Tristram gone down. I arose and having put on my clothes, went to the gallery adjoining the apartment, and took from thence a long broom (such as cornices are swept with), by the help of which I took down, with some difficulty, the curtains, as I imagined their extraordinary position might excite suspicion in the family. I then went to the bureau, took out my pocket-book, and bound a piece of black riband round my wrist. When I came down the agitation of my mind had left an impression upon my countenance

too visible to pass unobserved by my husband. He instantly remarked it and asked the cause. I informed him my Lord Tyrone was no more; and that he had died at the hour of four on the preceding Tuesday, and desired him never to question me more respecting the black riband, which he kindly desisted from after. You, my son, as had been foretold, I afterwards brought into the world, and about seven years after your birth, your lamented father expired in my arms. After that melancholy event, I determined as the only probable chance to avoid the sequel of the prediction regarding myself, for ever to abandon all society—to give up every pleasure resulting from it—and to pass the rest of my days in solitude and retirement. But few can long endure to exist in a state of perfect sequestration. I renewed an intimacy with a family, and one alone; nor could I then foresee the fatal consequences which afterwards resulted from it. Little did I think that my friend's brother would form the person destined by Fate to prove my destruction. In a short time I ceased to regard him with indifference. I endeavoured, by every possible way, to conquer a passion the fatal effects of which I too well knew. I had fondly imagined that I had overcome its influence, when the evening of one fatal day terminated my fortitude, and plunged me, in a moment, down that abyss which I had so long been meditating how to shun. One day, an order came to him to rejoin his regiment, and he came to bid me farewell. The instant he entered the room he fell upon his knees at my feet—told me he was miserable, and that I alone was the cause. At that moment my fortitude

forsook me ; I gave myself up for lost, and, regarding my fate as inevitable, without further hesitation consented to a union, the immediate result of which I knew to be misery, and its end death. The conduct of my husband after a few years justified a separation ; and I hoped by this means to avoid the fatal sequel of the prophecy. But, won over by his reiterated entreaties, I was prevailed upon to pardon, and once more to reside with him, though not till after I had, as I thought, passed my forty-seventh year. But, alas ! I have heard from indisputable authority that I have hitherto lain under a mistake with regard to my age, and that I am but forty-seven to-day. Of the near approach of death, then, I entertain not the slightest doubt ; but I do not now dread its arrival ; for, armed with the sacred precepts of Christianity, I can meet the King of Terrors without dismay ; and without fear bid adieu to mortality for ever. When I am dead, as the necessity of concealment closes with my life I would wish that you, my daughter, should unbind my wrist, take from thence the black riband, and let my son, with yourself, behold it." Lady Beresford here paused for some time, but resuming the conversation, she entreated that her son would behave himself so as to merit the high honour he would in future receive by a union with the Lady Katherine Power, the daughter of the Earl of Tyrone. Lady Beresford then expressed a wish to lay down on the bed, and endeavour to compose herself to sleep. The Lady Riverston and her brother immediately called her domestics and quitted the room, having first desired them to watch their mistress attentively, and if they observed the smallest change in

her, to call instantly. An hour passed, and all was quiet. They listened at the door, and everything remained still ; but in half an hour more a bell rang violently. They flew to her apartment, but before they reached the door they heard the servants exclaim, “Oh, she is dead !” The Lady Riverston then bade the servants for a few minutes to quit the room, and herself and her brother approached the bed of their mother. They knelt down by the side of it. The Lady Riverston then lifted up her hand, and untied the riband ; the wrist was found exactly as Lady Beresford had described it—every sinew shrunk, every nerve withered.

Lady Beresford’s son, as had been predicted, is since married to the Lady Katherine Power. The black riband and the pocket-book were formerly in the possession of Lady Betty Cobbe, of Newbridge, County Kildare, who resided at Marlborough Buildings, Bath, England, and during her long life, she was ever ready to attest the truth of this narration, as are to the present hour the whole of the Power and Beresford families.

Lady Betty Cobbe was the sixth daughter of Sir Marcus Beresford, First Earl of Tyrone (so created in consequence of his marriage with Lord Tyrone’s daughter), and of Lady Katherine Power, his wife. She married in 1751 Thomas Cobbe, of Newbridge, Esq., in the County of Kildare.

Earl John lies buried in the Protestant Church of Carrick-on-Suir, under a black marble monument, with this inscription :—

“Here lieth the Body of the  
Right Honourable John Power,  
Earl of Tyrone,  
who died the 14th of October, 1693,  
in the 29th year of his age.”

Thus having followed John Power, Earl of Tyrone, to the end of his earthly pilgrimage, and been given the unusual privilege of seeing him begin a fresh career in another sphere, we must return to the widowed Katherine. For her, as we have seen, the world had once held only too many husbands—but it was not so now, and she had been left to face existence alone, with, furthermore, a family of sons and daughters to bring up and launch in life. However, she was not destined to be left friendless, and her father-in-law, George, fourth Viscount Grandison, appears to have constituted himself her protector and adviser. Some of the kind-hearted interest he felt is expressed in the following letter, which is endorsed:—George Viscount Grandison to the Honble. Katherine Fitzgerald Villiers respecting her sons Wm. and John. It was written at the close of the year 1693.

The letter runs thus:—

“ Your sons came hither att a very good time about a fortnight agoe which was not long before they usually breakupp att the schooles soe could not conveniently goe then out to the bathes for so short a time, and by the favour of the gentlewoman (in part of whose house I live) and keepes a tutor in itt for her owne sonns I have putt them to learne of him while they are here which I am very glad I did finding they are both willing and apt to learne and doubt not but you and all their friends will have great comfort in them. I finde every body is of opinion itt will be best to part them and therefore think to send Will to Eaton with Tom Bide after Christmas which I think the best and as cheape a lattin schoole as he can goe to

and there is a french master which they may goe to twice a weeke if you will, which will keep him from loosing and possibly improve his french ; for Jack, I am not resolved how to dispose of him finding him little advanced in lattin & doubt for that may find discouragement in a great grammar schoole, and should bee glad to have your resolution concerning him, for if you would have him learne latin (wh I think would doe well) I will endeavour to find some good more private place to putt him to & shal take what care is possible that he loose not his time til I heare from you—If God grant me life and liberty to continue in this place. If I am forced from hence for security shall leave them to my sonn Charles whoe I am sure will be very carefull and kinde too. Besides that latin may be of good use besides jan ornament too. I thinke the expense of these great french Academyes may be as well spared by you as well as others, therefore desire you wd send word what ex'pence you are willing to bee att that wee may not drawe more in conveniency than needes upon you—Since I began this wh was last weeke we have bin soe discomposed that I know not wha to write, the Queenes\* being in soe great danger putts everybody almost out of their witts, for my

\* The Queen, refers to Queen Mary, wife to William of Orange, who died about two months after the letter was written. Edward Villiers, a younger brother of George, Viscount Grandison's, was a great favourite of William and Mary, and it is recorded that his son (also named Edward) led a mourning horse attended by two Equerries at the funeral of Queen Mary on March 5th, 1694. This Edward, was four years later, created Earl of Jersey by William, and from him are descended the existing family of Villiers, Earl of Jersey. His sister, Katherine, married a second son of her cousin, William Villiers, who was a younger son of George, Viscount Grandison, and brother to Katherine's husband, the Brigadier.

part I can only say God in heaven blesse you and yours and bring you together againe where I hope they with you may bee safe which is more than I can promise they will bee with there unfortunate Grandfather, but while I live and am able shall discharge my part to all as becomes an honest kinde parent and to you Madam

“A most faithfull servant

“and truly loving father

“ GRANDISON.

“December 27th.”

The anxiety and fears for the future expressed in this letter are easily explained when we remember that not half a dozen years had passed since the last Stuart King had been driven from his throne by the usurping William of Orange, and that many Jacobite plots were afoot in which Lord Grandison, who, in common with all his family, was a staunch loyalist, was sure to have been implicated.

We can gather from his letter that he was a kind-hearted, high-principled gentleman, qualities which he shared with his brother William, \* the father of the Duchess of Cleveland.

These brothers have been mentioned before in the earlier part of this chapter, when as boys they accompanied their father, Sir Edward Villiers, to Ireland when he became President of Munster. It may be remembered

\* There were in all five brothers ; the three eldest were all in turn Viscounts Grandison, the fourth, Edward, an ancestor to the Earl of Jersey, and the fifth was the Richard to whom the Earl of Cork was godfather. It is believed he died while still a child.

that the Earl of Cork mentions that William Villiers accompanied his own sons and daughters to a merry-making and feast at Dungarvan, given in honour of the eldest son, Viscount Dungarvan, paying his first visit to the town.

William, who was Sir Edward's eldest son, became second Viscount Grandison on the death of his great uncle, the first Viscount, in 1630. Soon after he came of age he took his seat in the House of Peers, with we are told, equal inclination and capacity to fulfil a conspicuous part in the conduct of public affairs. Having seen somewhat of a military life in the wars in the Netherlands, he intended to have passed his days chiefly in Ireland, where his father had justly gained a mighty popularity, and to have sat down calmly, though not inactively, in the enjoyment of those affections of which the inheritance had been in a manner bequeathed to him; but the time was fast approaching which, unhappily, demanded other duties of the vigour of youth. Lord Grandison,\* full of martial spirit and of gratitude for the prodigious favours which his family owed to Charles, was among the first who rushed forward in that Prince's cause, even in the dawn of the rebellion. He fixed his three brothers, the youngest of whom had scarcely passed childhood, in the military service, and himself commanded a regiment in the army raised in 1640 against the Scots, at the head of which he signalised himself with the greatest gallantry on many occasions.

\* See "Lodgre's Portraits," from which book the following account of William, Viscount Grandison, is taken.

In the following year he passed into Ireland and served in the County of Armagh, at the head of a body of horse, which, having been surprised and almost destroyed by the Irish on their first rising, he returned to the King, who had now set up his standard, and was immediately appointed to command a regiment of cavalry under the eye of his Majesty, who was then present with the army. Here, too, and, indeed, always, he was no less ill-fated than brave.

His gallant career was too soon to terminate. He commanded, according to Lord Clarendon, the infantry, with the title of Colonel-General in the army with which Prince Rupert in July, 1643, besieged Bristol.

On the 25th of July, the day before the dearly-bought capitulation of the town (for Lord Grandison was one of the many heroes who fell there) in leading on his men with the most determined bravery, after having had two horses killed under him and four wounded, he was disabled by a musket shot and carried to Oxford, where he languished for some weeks and expired.

The noble historian,\* however superficially he may have detailed the particulars of Lord Grandison's services, has thus immortalised his memory. "He was a young man of so virtuous a habit of mind that no temptation or provocation could corrupt him, so great a lover of justice and integrity that no example, necessity, or even barbarity of this war could make him swerve from the most precise rules of it and of that rare piety and devotion

\* Lord Clarendon.

that the court or camp could not show a more faultless person, or to whose example young men might more reasonably conform themselves.

His personal valour and courage of all kinds (for he had sometimes indulged so much to the corrupt opinion of honour as to venture himself in duels) was very eminent, in so much as he was accused of being too prodigal of his person. His affection, zeal, and obedience to the King was such as became a branch of that family, and he was wont to say that if he had not understanding enough to know the uprightness of the cause, nor loyalty to inform him of the duty of a subject, yet, the very obligations of gratitude to the King on the behalf of his house, were such that his life was but a due sacrifice, and, therefore, he no sooner saw the war unavoidable than he engaged all his brethren as well as himself in the service, and there were thus three more of them in command of the army, when he was so unfortunately cut off. When the King<sup>1</sup> was informed of his death, he exclaimed that "he had lost an honest resolved man," and added, with that quaintness which was then frequently used even in the most serious speeches, that Lord Grandison was as free from spleen as if he had always lived by the medicinal waters of St. Vincent's rock, where he received his fatal wound.\*

\* Charles I. had a way of expressing himself in forcible as well as quaint language, and he writes in reference to Prince Rupert's dismissal after his unfortunate surrender at Bristol, that "it hath given me moore grief than any misfortunes since the damnable rebellion broke out." Then he adds, he is sure Rupert's failure was not on account of "his change of affection for me or my cause, but merely his having his judgement seduced by some rotten-hearted villians."



WILLIAM VILLIERS.  
FATHER TO THE DUCHESS OF CLEVELAND



He married Mary, third daughter of Paul Viscount Bayning, who, after his death, became the wife, first of his cousin, Charles Villiers, second and last Earl of Anglesey, and secondly of Arthur Gorges. By her he had one daughter, his sole heir, Barbara, who was married to Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemain in Ireland, and who was afterwards created by Charles II. Duchess of Cleveland. A splendid monument was erected by that lady over the remains af her father, who was buried in the Cathedral of Christ Church in Oxford.

There is an interesting Latin inscription on this monument, the translation of which runs thus:—

“ Mars vied with the Graces in him who added honour to the beauty of his most handsome countenance by brilliant deeds. After great achievements in Belgium, Ireland, and finally England, while leading troops against the Rebels at the siege of Bristol he was the first to scale the ramparts. He fired the valour of the Soldiers that he might gain the outworks. Meanwhile, wounded in the thigh by a bullet, he interwove cypress with his Laurels. The city was captured at too dear a price. Carried to Oxford' he died towards the end of the month of August, 1643.”

Erected by Barbara, Duchess of Cleveland, “out of filial piety to her excellent father.”

On the death of William, his second brother John became third Viscount, but he, dying without heirs, was succeeded in his turn by his brother George, who became fourth Viscount. He married Lady Mary Legh, and

they had several children besides their eldest son Edward, who married Katherine Fitz Gerald.

Edward, as we have seen, died before his father, and so his eldest son John became fifth Viscount Grandison on the death of his grandfather in 1699. Katherine, his mother, was then given the title and rank of Viscountess Grandison, just as if her husband had lived long enough to have inherited his father's title.

Besides the eldest son John, whose destiny it was to bequeath continuity to the Dromana family, the only one of Edward and Katherine's children of sufficient note to be worth mentioning in this chronicle is their third daughter Harriett, who, by her marriage with Robert Pitt, became the mother of William Pitt, the great Earl of Chatham.

\* The letters that passed between Katherine and Robert Pitt's father concerning this marriage are of so much interest that I give them here in full.

The writer, Thomas Pitt, is chiefly remembered by posterity as the owner of what is known as the "Pitt diamond." During part of his life he was Governor of Fort St. George in India, and so, probably, he had many opportunities of seeing beautiful gems, and was, doubtless, a connoisseur. At any rate he purchased the historic diamond for £20,000, and sold it to the Duc d'Orleans, who was then Regent of France, for no less a sum than £135,000.

\* These letters were found among many others (including the letter from George, Viscount Grandison to Katherine) in an old cabinet at Dromana that was given to Katherine by Charles II.

The first letter in this series is addressed to Katherine from Fort St. George, and is dated December 29th, 1708. It runs thus:—

“ MADAM,—

“ I received the honour of yours of the 16th of february last, and beg you ten thousand pardons for my omission in not writing you as I ought to have done, upon the honour you did my family in marrying your daughter to my son, with which I am entirely satisfied, and the more as haveing a lady of your honour and worth to her mother and to convince you madam that this is not a compliment, for that many years past, I anticipate your commands now receiv'd for that my will sent to Mr. Raworth and now lyes in the hands of his son, I made provision for a settlement for your daughter and put your son on such a condition, as to provide well for his children and that too if he only endeavours to preserve what I have given him: I resolve, God willing, to embarque next month on the “ Lichfield ” or “ Kent ” when hope to enjoy ye great satisfaction I promise my selfe in being soe nearly ally'd to you soe with my very humble service to your Ladyship an ye Lt Generall for whom I have a very great honour and esteem and am

“ Madm Yo most obliged and  
“ obed humble servant  
“ PITT.

“ Fort St. George (India),  
“ December the 29th 1708.”

The “Lt. Generall” to whom Pitt sends greetings was Katherine’s second husband, General Steuart, whom she had married some few years after the death of Edward Villiers. We may gather from the above letter that Pitt was genuinely pleased with his son’s marriage, and that Katherine was an old and valued friend.

He evidently feared that his letter might miscarry, for he made a second copy which was found with the following short communication attached to it :—

“MADAM,—

“ I am sorry that it soe happens that I had no sooner wrote you the foregoing letter by an advice boat that sailed hence the last month wherin I promis’d to waite on you by the Lichfield or Kent, but few days after I was obliged in point of gratitude to our Company to alter my resolution there happening a weighty affair to be negotiated with the Emperor who is drawing into these parts, wh I hope will be finished by September, and whether it be or noe I resolve to embarque on the first ship, we shall then despatch. When shall beg pardon for my breach of promise, wh for the reason before, was out of my power to perform, soe with my very humble service to yourself and the Lieut Generall

“ I am Mad<sup>m</sup>

“ Yo Most Obed<sup>ent</sup>

“ humble servant,

“ PITT.

“ Fort St. George,

“ January 20th 1709.”

The Emperor mentioned in the foregoing letter was Bahadur Shah, the eldest son of the famous Aurungzebe, who, on his father's death in 1707, had succeeded to the 1707 Moghal throne. It is recorded that one of the Emperor's officers, Daood Khan (a noble Pathan famous throughout the Deccan for his matchless daring and love of strong drink) visited Madras in 1708, and that Mr. Pitt, the Governor, gave him a grand entertainment in the Council Chamber, where the Pathan "pledged the chief largely in cordial waters and French brandy amidst a discharge of cannon."

This period was a particularly important one for Madras and the whole of India, for it was on the 29th September, 1708, that all the traders in India were finally amalgamated into one Company to be thenceforth known as the United East India Company. In the face of such serious happenings as these, it can well be imagined that Pitt might be kept in India by many a "weighty affair."

Meanwhile, in far-off London, an event happened in 1708 that was destined to have a notable effect on the fortunes of the Pitt family as well as to the world at large, for in this year a son was born to Robert Pitt and his wife Hariett, a son afterwards to attain immortal fame, and be known to all men as William Pitt, the Great Earl of Chatham.

William was Robert and Harriett's second son, and to the grandfather in India these children were evidently sources of the utmost pride and joy. However, it was not till the year 1710 that Eastern affairs permitted Pitt

to return to the bosom of his family. We learn something of his movements in the following letter written to him by Katherine. It was sent from Dromana and begins thus :—

“ Dromana,

“ Aug. 1st 1710.

“ SIR,—

“ It's a considerable time since I received ye favour of ye letter from ffort St George wh expressed ye consent in ye son's marriage with my daughter in so obliging a maner it has made mee perfectly eassee for ye character of Justice and gennorossity leaves me now no room to doubt of ye care to make a provision for my son and daughter Pitt and their children. I have lately had ye pleasing account from my daughter that you were happily arriv'd in Denmark. I hope soon to have ye gratifacation at hearing you are safe at London I wish I could have had ye pleasure to be present at ye joyful meeting between you and our son and daughter Pitt with so many fine children upon their knees. I flatter myself with the thought that when my dear daughter is personally known to you her qualifications will so commend her to your favour for I am sure you will find her a very duttyfull daughter and a good discreet wife. I am impatient till I know you are safe land'd in England I cant help repeating my wish that I were so agreeably happy as to add one more to the number of y<sup>r</sup> friends on this joyful occasion but business oblig's the Lev<sup>t</sup> Gen<sup>ll</sup> to stay in Ireland till ye latter

end of next summer, and then I hope to settel in England for some time when I will take all occasione to show myself with great esteem

“ Yo affet hum<sup>ble</sup> sarvent

“ K. GRANDISON.”

In the autumn of this year (1710) Pitt returned to England, and at length saw his daughter-in-law and his grandchildren. This occasioned him great pleasure and satisfaction, but much of the delight in the “joyful meeting” pictured by Katherine was subsequently marred when Pitt found the conduct of his son left much to be desired. He himself had lived laborious days, sacrificing his time and health in a distant land, both for the sake of his country and in order to make money for his family, and he, like many another strenuously-lived man, had to endure the bitter and disheartening experience of seeing his son waste his life as an idle, self-indulgent spendthrift, a mere cumberer of the ground. His feelings are expressed in the following letter addressed to Katherine:—

“ I rec<sup>d</sup> the hon<sup>r</sup> of yo<sup>r</sup> Ladyship’s letter of the 1st of August whilst I was in Holland, where and since my arrival in England, my ffriends have been soe over kind not to give me time to put pen to paper, wh has prevented my sending my humble acknowledgm<sup>t</sup> of the recip<sup>t</sup> of yo<sup>r</sup>s sooner than this.

“ The deportment of your daughter Pitt hitherto exceeds the character that either yo<sup>r</sup> Ladyship or other ffriends have given of her, which together w<sup>th</sup> the pritty children gives me entire satisfaction,

I wish I could say soe of the Husband and the ffather, who I thought should be charm'd into a dilligent care of 'em and not to have spent all that has come to his hands I wish I could have been soe happy as to have met you here, to have had yo<sup>r</sup> ad-vise in rectifying what I find amiss, and prevent the like for the future, for that I expected to have found in his hand a very considerable cash, but instead there-of not one penny, but rather in debted, w<sup>h</sup> has soe irritated me, that was it not for his wife and children I would discard him forever, this I impart to your Ladyship esteeming it the same as in my own breast, he being as nearly related to you as his wife is to me.

“I am sorry to find that wee are to be soe long without yo<sup>r</sup> good comp<sup>a</sup> and hope that some lucky day occasion may happen to hasten you hither, soe with my very humble service to you, my Lord, and your daughters

“I am y<sup>r</sup> Ldyships

“Most obedient and obliged

“humble servant

“PITT.

“London Novb the 15th 1710.”

Katherine's answer to this letter, as was not uncommon n those days of casual postal arrangements, did not reach its destination. This was a pity, as it doubtless contained some pretty pleading for her ill-behaved son-in-law. Here is Pitt's answer to a later letter of hers, from which one gathers that his anger is somewhat appeased :—

" Pall Mall July 5th 1711

" MADAM,

" I had the honour of yo Ladyship's letter of the 20th of May being the only one I rec'd since I came to England I am sorry the other miscarried being an answer to one wherin I tooke the freedome to impart my sentiments wch I shall always doe upon acco<sup>t</sup> of the nise alliance you have honourd mee wth and as nothing has or shall be wanting in mee to make your daughter and her children happy they must be sure to doe their part or else my endeavours are in vaine, they have bin some months in ye country most part at the Bath, but now I learn they are returned to Stratford in perfect health. I did heare my daughter will inquire for a house for you and employ'd one Mr Herrers an upholsterer who I lately sent for and gave him directions to write your Ladyship wt progress hee had made therin, I wish hee may find a convenient house in our neighbourhood wch will very much adde to my satisfaction in mine, if I can help yo Ladyship in any thing here pray honour mee w<sup>th</sup> your commands so w<sup>th</sup> my humble service to you, my Ld the young Lady's Mr ffitzgerald and his Lady I am

" Mad<sup>m</sup>

" Yo Ladyships most obe<sup>t</sup>

" humble servt

" THO. PITT."

This is Katherine's answer to the foregoing :—

" Mr. Thomas Pitt.      Dromana, Aug ye 9th 1711.

" SR

" I had ye favour of yr obliging letter of ye 5th of last month, it gives mee all ye satisfaction I can desier as to yr Kindness design'd my daughter and her children wch I doe not doubt, but she will make it her care to desarve what faults has been in my son Pitt's managem<sup>t</sup> I impute to his being at so great a distance from you, for I thought it a great misfortune to want ye direction of a discrete parent when he was first to live in ye world, their are ffollys in youth yt will soon be over and then will be pardoned and forgot by a kind father, it pleas'd mee exstremly when I found my son was not to be drawn in to play, for that will ruin ye best fortune: ye considerable prospect he has, made many have designs on him when he was first marre'd that in Oc<sup>t</sup> I hope we see you in england and it please mee to think our first meeting will be with friendship the freedom of ye maner you are pleas'd to express<sup>y</sup>r thoughts in to me, obliges me to make a suitable return and to take all occasion to show myself

" Y affect humble

" Sarvent

" K. GRANDISON."

Katherine was evidently quite determined to say "the soft word," as the saying goes in Ireland, for her daughter's husband, and very well she did it. For what man would resist the subtle flattery that insinuates it was

only in the absence of his wise, far-seeing mind that faults arose in his son's "managem<sup>t</sup>." "The considerable prospect" referred to, was the large fortune Pitt had gained, chiefly from the sale of the famous diamond, for this fortunate transaction enabled him to raise his family to a position of wealth and political influence.

In the following year Pitt wrote the following friendly letter to Katherine concerning the birth of a mutual granddaughter :—

“ Pall Mall Nov 21st 1712.

“ MADAM

“ I was unwilling to omitt this opportunity by my friend Colonel Ottway of giving your Ladyship my humble service and to wish you joy of yo grand daughter who was born just time enough to have a small share in the lottery tis a brave bouncing girl and hope they bee fortunate there in. I had advis'd yo ladyship of this addition to our family, but that my son was here and I know did it. I should be very glad to hear of the perfect recovery of the General the children in the country are all well and Tommy goes on bravely at Eaton, wh<sup>at</sup> I feared is come to pass the workmen have taken up their winter quarters with us, in a year I reckon to be rid of 'em the Cap<sup>ta</sup>n is only in to wine with me, who gives his most humble service to your Ladyship and the young ladyships and I sincerely do the same, and to my L<sup>d</sup> and his Lady and Mr ffitzgerald and am

“ Yo Ladyships most affect obed

“ THO PIT.”

This letter is the last in the correspondence that has come to light, though probably many others passed between Katherine and Pitt. These letters, though they are homely and deal almost entirely with domestic details, give us a very good idea of the way an intimate correspondence was conducted two hundred years ago, and it is delightful, too, to hear something at first hand about “Diamond Pitt, as he was called, and learn a little about the influence that surrounded the first years of the great statesman Chatham.

The end of the correspondence brings us to the close of the chapter, for the star of the last Stuart Sovereign was at its setting, and that of the House of Hanover about to rise triumphantly above the horizon.

## CHAPTER V.

“Dromana at the time of the Georges.”

THOUGH I have said that the star of the House of Hanover was destined to rise triumphantly as the Stuart star faded, yet it was not to rise quite unchallenged. There were a great many people all over the kingdom who would like to have seen the Stuarts restored to the throne, and many plots set on foot at the instigation of such men as Lord Bolingbroke and the Earl of Ormond, but they did not prosper. In the Autumn of 1715 James Stuart (the son of James II.), called the Old Pretender by his enemies, and the Chevalier de St. George by his friends, actually landed in Scotland, and though thousands of loyal Highlanders flocked to his standard the Hanoverian soldiers triumphed, and the Chevalier was forced to return to France early in the February of 1716.

In Ireland he had adherents also, and the Government feared that the Jacobites, supported by the French, might try and land there, but in reality there was little fear of a rising, for there was no general sympathy felt for the Stuart cause among the mass of the people. They had freely given their lives and their money to James II. in

1689, but they had been disgusted with his conduct after the famous battle of the Boyne, and were now proportionately disinclined to fight for his son. However, the Government, not being sure of the temper of the people, ordained that a printed manifesto should be circulated amongst the chief noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland, bidding them be on the alert, John, Viscount Grandison, Katherine's eldest son, who had now reached man's estate, received one of the notices, which is still preserved at Dromana. It runs thus:—

“Whereas We have received Letters from One of His Majestie's Principal Secretaries of State, Advising Us, that there is reason to believe that this Kingdom will suddenly be Invaded. These are to Pray and Require you, to take all possible care that no time be lost in Executing the Directions already sent you for putting the Militia of your County into a condition to go upon immediate service and upon the First Notice you shall receive of the landing any number of men in your Parts in an Hostile Manner (the Earl of Ormonde was especially imputed with having designs of landing a number of Jacobites at Waterford) you are hereby Directed and Required forthwith to send Us the fullest and most perfect account thereof, and to Draw out the said Militia to Attack them if you shall be able if not to Post the said Militia in such manner as you shall conceive most proper to hinder the Rebels from being joined by any ill-disposed Persons in your neighbourhood and to do everything else that shall lie in your Power

towards the annoying and Distressing of the said Rebels, or other His Majesties Enemies making such decent.

Given at His Majesties Castle of  
Dublin the 30th Day of Jan 1715.  
By their Excellencies Command."

This document \* is signed by the Duke of Grafton (a grandson of Charles II.) and Lord Galway, who were at that time the two chief administrators at Dublin Castle. The Duke of Sunderland had been appointed Viceroy after the accession of George I., but as he was unable to leave London the Duke of Grafton and Lord Galway were sent over in his place as Lords Justices.

This additional written notice on the same subject was sent to Lord Grandison, and is addressed :—

“ Dublin Castle 25th February 1715.

“ MY LORD (it commences)

“ It being necessary for the Defence of the Kingdom at this time threatened with an Invasion from abroad and an Insurrection at home that his Majesty’s Forces should be drawn together which is the occasion that the Barracks of Kilmactomas, Four Mile Waters and Galbally, in your County are left empty. We desire that to prevent their being

\* 1715 is the date on the document, but in reality it was the year 1716. There is a certain amount of confusion in dates up to the year 1751, for previous to that the new year commenced on the 25th of March, the Feast of the Annunciation, but in 1751 an Act of Parliament was passed decreeing that the year 1752, and all subsequent years, should commence on the 1st of January. Since that date the calendar has been arranged as it is to-day.

conquered—plundered or destroyed your Lordship will order such number of the Militia to be posted therein as you shall judge to be sufficient for their security.

“ We are

“ My Lord your Lordship’s  
“ most humble servants

“ GRAFTON

“ GALLWAY

“ Ld Grandison Gov of ye County of Waterford.”

This letter is written in a beautifully clear, clerkly hand and only signed by the Lords Justices. It is curious to note that fifty years later the Duke of Grafton’s granddaughter was destined to marry a grandson of Lord Grandison’s, but we are anticipating, and the fifty years which elapsed were fated to be very disturbed ones in Ireland. A short-sighted and very unjust form of Government drove the people into committing dreadful crimes, till finally the never-to-be-forgotten rebellion of 1798 lead to a better state of things. The Parliament in Dublin could in no sense be said to be a representative body, as Catholics, and, for the most part, Presbyterians were excluded, so that Ireland was entirely ruled by men elected from the comparatively small English Protestant Colony, or, as the Irish Nationalists delight in calling it, “the English Garrison.” The laws that the Government passed against the Catholics were inhumanly harsh and unjust, but one is glad to be able to record that many Protestants felt much pity for their oppressed Catholics

neighbours, and willingly protected them. This is well illustrated by a letter received at this time by Lord Grandison in answer to one evidently written by him in behalf of some imprisoned Jacobite Catholic friends. As far as we can judge Lord Grandison's outward sympathies at least were with the Hanoverians, though family tradition possibly gave him a secret bias in favour of the Stuarts.

His correspondent, a certain Mr. Maynard, writes thus :—

“ Dublin ye 28th Feb 1715.

“ MY LORD

“ I have made it my business to be more particular in answer to your two letters than I possibly could be last Post. I read the Memoriale with the scheme for a new Regiment in ye County and another in the City of Waterford, but find it impracticable to ante date commissions, for the others were dated before the appointment of this Government.

“ I talked to M. Bladen and \* Delafaye (who owns yr letter) about ye gentlemen committed by the Government, wch they say was not upon any particular information but what they had done throughout the Kingdom, for the common security by advice of council and indeed considering the critical juncture, it might have been a means of knowing 'em out of harms way if there had been an Invasion (the danger of wch is I hope pretty well

\* Delafaye was a secretary to the Irish Government. His letters and reports are quoted by the Historians of this period.

over by ye scandalous desertion of the Pretender)—(a reference to James Stuart's hasty flight from Scotland)—and no doubt if we continue quiet all the gentlemen will be soon released out I find an unwillingness of doing it in a particular instance.

“ I did not omit to enquire what power was given Mr. Silver to support so singular a warrant, which was no other than that of ye printed circular letters one of which was directed to him (this refers to the printed manifesto given a few pages back). What he urges as his motive is that he heard several good houses were protected by Councolour Hubbard and others ; which I told him if 'twere so, was not sufficient foundation to assume so superior a power especially to apply it to the particular use of his own troop, he did not answer that to my satisfaction, but assured me 'twas far from his intention to use the gentlemen of our Country ill, much less to make your Lordship uneasie. He therefore assured me he would immediately revoke his warrant, however i'me sorry it was not recall'd time enough to prevent the last irregularitys his forwardness has carried him beyond his province, but to prevent mistakes in protecting papists horses I consulted my Lord Chancelour who assures me that no person can protect or ought to return horses legally forced till ordered by the Government.

“ Before I would lay the examination before the Government I thought it prudent to sound em by talking to the Secretarys who tell me they think it

a matter more proper to be determined in the country and that they are assured twile be very ungratefull to yr Ld Justices (if ye matter is not of very enormous nature) to take cognizance of it if done with a well-affected tho ill-judged zeal : but if your Lordship is for laying the exam<sup>iers</sup> before the Gov I could wish a letter from yr Lord<sup>ship</sup> to ye government on that subject wch I will enclose in a cover and direct to their Ex<sup>cies</sup> this method will give the affair greater countenance and indeed become my character better than to appear the principale agent in a dispute between my next doer neighbours especially since the people of Tallaghinust unfortunately be pritty much involved to whom in particular I own I have some obligations and therefore hope they'le be no more guilty of such rashness. I dont trouble Major Fz Gerald w<sup>th</sup> a letter twoud be only a repetition of this

“ I am my Lord  
“ Your Most obedient Humble Ser<sup>t</sup>

“ M. MAYNARD.”

The 18th century in Ireland has well been designated the “Period of the Penal Laws,” and here in the foregoing letter we have an example of Catholics being imprisoned, “not upon any particular information,” but at the instigation of the same process of reasoning that urged the anxious mother to ask someone “to go and see what baby's doing and tell him not to do it.” Since the terrible rebellion of 1641 the Irish Protestants had felt a deep distrust of all Catholics and so had sought to

crush these by penal laws. Mr. Maynard's letter also touches on a particularly severe enactment against Catholics, which was that none of their number might keep a horse worth more than £5—and if he did any Protestant might take possession of it by tendering £5. Even in England it was no unusual practice to seize upon the horses of Catholic gentlemen in order to impede them in the risings which they were always supposed to be meditating.\* Thus one can imagine how in Ireland the "printed letter" we have read would be considered quite enough authority for any good Protestant to take possession or "legally force" the horses belonging to the Catholics.

There was the "Lord Chancelour's" authority that no person might protect or return horses "legally forced" till ordered by the Government and such legal redress was often an unobtainable ideal for the unfortunate Catholics.

Among other disabilities from which the followers of the Romish religion suffered, were those of being forbidden to keep arms, or of buying land, or taking a lease for longer than 31 years. Neither might they vote at an election, become Members of Parliament, lawyers, doctors or hold any Government situation, for to make a man eligible for any of these things he had to take an oath that the Catholic religion was false and receive the sacrament according to the English rite. The Presbyterians also suffered, for they too refused to receive the sacrament

\* History of the Four Georges, by Justin McCarthy.

and so, like the Catholics, they were disabled from entering the army or becoming Government servants.

The material prosperity of the Irish of all denominations was imperilled at this period by the Government passing laws to forbid Irish exports being sent to the colonies, or Irish cattle being exported to England. The wool trade, once flourishing, was ruined by a law requiring the Irish to pay an impossible duty on all wool and all manufactured woollen articles exported—in fact one may say that almost all branches of Irish manufacture were destroyed by this legislation ; the effect of it is still felt to day in Ireland, where there is even now comparatively little manufacture and commerce. These laws were passed on the plea that Irish prosperity might ruin the manufactures in England, and also with the idea that if Ireland was to be conveniently governed, Ireland must be kept weak. When one considers this selfish policy, it is scarcely surprising to find the Irish nation even now refusing to regard England with eyes of admiring affection.

As may be imagined, the Penal laws and commercial disabilities between them caused great distress and misery, and the result was a general exodus from Ireland. Countless numbers of young Catholic Irishmen, known by the name of the “ Wild geese,” sailed to France where they enrolled themselves as soldiers in the French army, and thousands of Ulster Presbyterians emigrated to America where they and their descendants became bitter enemies to England. In general it was the most promising portion of the population that forsook Ireland and the element left behind were feeble and feckless. There was

small outlet for the little energy they might have possessed, and they sank into discontented poverty, and many of them lived by smuggling and blackmailing. One reads of the frequent abduction of heiresses, who were carried off to the mountains and forced into marriage with their abductor, who was often a man of good family who had come down in the world.

It was a period of lawlessness and crime and when the victim was a Protestant, crime assumed the character of legitimate warfare.

One is glad to think that in the midst of much that was disorderly and painful in the state of Ireland, there were yet to be found some upright Protestant gentlemen who laboured as far as it lay in their power to make up for the inadequate and foolish policy of the Government.\* Froude says that stately manners, high motives, and refined intelligence were as conspicuous among the Irish great families as they were among the English aristocracy. "Gross as was the degeneracy of the majority," he writes, "a chosen few were still spending their fortunes in improving agriculture, in reclaiming mountain and morass, in building schools and churches, conscious of the duty which they owed to the people, and earning their gratitude and affectionate devotion by the unselfish fidelity with which those duties were discharged. Scattered thinly over the four provinces, the salt of the country, they continued, generation after generation, in brave and honourable execution of a work which brought its own

reward with it: they sate enthroned in the imagination of the peasantry as their natural rulers: the Banshees wailed for them when they died, the “good people” took them under their protection, as they in turn were the protectors of the poor.

Such a description as the foregoing might well be applied to Lord Grandison. We know he did much to benefit the peasantry, and we gather that he was a man of refinement and intellect from his letters, for he corresponded and was on friendly terms with some of the most eminent Englishmen of his day. He set on foot great projects to improve the condition of his people; among other things he started a linen weaving industry near Dromana, and imported weavers from Ulster, and he built a village and a church for them which remains to this day a memorial of his zeal for the public welfare.

In 1721 George I. raised him from the rank of Viscount 17 to that of Earl of Grandison in reward presumably for his loyalty and beneficence. About ten years previously he had married Frances Carey, daughter of Anthony fourth Viscount Falkland. This lady's great grandfather was the Lucius Carey, second Viscount Falkland, who was killed in the Civil war fighting for Charles I. Lord Clarendon says much in praise of him, adding “if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity.” Lord Clarendon as a historian is somewhat given to exaggeration, but Lucius Carey seems to have been possessed of an extraordinarily delightful personality and to have been a man of much learning.

One of his favourite sayings was that “he pitied unlearned gentlemen on a rainy day.”

In the December of 1725, Katherine Fitz Gerald, or Viscountess Grandison to give her her proper title, died in London and was buried in Westminister Abbey, where Lord Chatham, her famous grandson, was also buried some fifty years afterwards. Though not very old at the time of her death, she seems to have been an invalid for many years before that event, but it is difficult to find out any details about the last years of her life. Her second husband (second, that is if we leave her first boy husband, Lord Tyrone, out of the reckoning), General Steuart, seems to have behaved with very little feeling for he married again within a few months of her death.

The action is excused in the following letter, written by a relative of General Steuart to Lord Grandison, which runs thus:—

“London March 22nd 1725.

“MY LORD

“Its with vast pleasure I find any occasion to write to your Lordship but especially now when it’s by the General’s Command, who I thank God is so miraculously recover’d from the late Indisposition that the chief thing wanting to him is strength and at his coming to his senses the first person he enquired after, was your Lordship and has been very much concern’d that he shou’d be so unhappy as not to be able to see your Lordship before you went for Ireland. For if his former actions and

conduct has any ways been instrumental to your advantage, he hopes it will be sufficient to demonstrate his future intentions is to cultivate rather than lessen that real friendship value and esteem which he has always sincerely professed for your Lordship : and when I acquaint you that his sudden intermarriage with Mrs. Alston (who is a Lady of an extraordinary good family that he has received great civilitys from) was a motive of nice honour and wholly owing to the ill conduct and misbehaviours of the Brigadier, and his wife from whose slunderous aspersions he thought he cou'd not in a more hon<sup>ble</sup> manner so justly and sufficiently clear her as well as his own character wh with the melancholly afflicted live he so many years endured bothe great prejudice of his health for the unhappy and miserable Indisposition of my late Lady Grandison, will be a means to justify his conduct in this, even from the most censorious part of the world, so I hope as it was not intend'd to be known (nor any thing besides his most unhappy and dangerous illness would have discover'd it) till after the desent time of mourning will convince you, and every body else, of his great regard and respect to your Lordship, your family, and the memory of the late lady your mother (to whom your Lordship is a witness of his tenderness) otherwise bringing home in three months his wife, could not be any greater crime in him, than his Lady's Uncle, the late Lord Crew, Bishop of Durham, Lord Hartcourt, Mr. Lewis & others who did th

same as I am informed in less than three months : and after the usual time of mourning I doubt not but your Lordship and Lady Grandison would have done this lady all the honour due to the General's wife. Therefore as I am sensible how much it will contribute to the General's ease and satisfaction I beg your Lord<sup>ship</sup> will indulge me so far as to lay aside nicetys and convince him of your continuing the friendship wh has been so long between you by writing to him (as occasion offers) who given you his humble service and if he had been able wd have wrote to you himself, and being well satisfied of your L<sup>s</sup> strict honour he does depend upon the promise of your utmost assistance in getting in all the arrears of rent wh fell due in the late lady your mother's time and he has wrote to Mr. Morrison some time ago to prepare to have all the leases ready to lay before y<sup>r</sup> L<sup>d</sup> and I have since wrote him to let you take attested copys of these leases if your Lordship pleases, as the General is desirous of supporting that good understanding wh has been so long between you: so he is ready to do every thing that is proper to oblige your L<sup>s</sup> to cultivate wh and a good correspondence is my great ambition, as well as to show upon all occasions with how much respect I have the honour to be

“ My Lord

“ Your Lordships

“ most obed<sup>n</sup> and obliged humble servant

“ STEUART”

It is not surprising to find that this specious and rather impertinent piece of special pleading did not in the least soften Lord Grandison's heart. His reply, which he copied on an unused sheet of his correspondent's letter, was curt and to the point. "I was favour'd," he writes, "with y<sup>rs</sup> of ye 22nd of last month, without compliment I shall be always pleased to continue a correspondence with Captain Steuart, as to General Steuart's former action and behaviour towards mee they certainly proved much to my advantage wh. I shall always readily acknowledge his sudden marriage did not more surprise me than all world and you must allow me to say what Lord Harcourt and others did is no justification, everyone knew the indifference which Lord H. held his former Lady, the other people I know nothing of. I can for my part answer the General was no such husband to my mother as to ye folish stories of Brig Steuart and my mother I believe nobody gave credit to them, for my part I did not consequently they could doe neither ye lady or General Steuart any prejudice. Had he thought proper to have staid something longer out of decency I should have endeavoured to have shown him all ye respect as formerly and both Lady Grandison and myself wd not have been wanting in showing all due regard to his lady. I'me sorry I must differ in opinion with you but I cannot term them nicities but must say General Steuart has shown a great slight to my mother and ye whole family I believe I may say its the generall opinion both in England and Ireland, certainly as affairs are so suddenly changed it cant be expected I should concern myself

about ye arrears and as to my having attested copies of leases no one besides myself has any right to ye originals and I have given Mr Morris under my hand, that they shall be forthcoming whenever Generall Steuart has occasion for them to recover the arrears which I shall punctually observe and believe more cant be expected from me who am ready on all occasions to show my title.

“ Yrs etc., etc.,

“ Copy of my answer.”

The tone of this letter is a happy blending of hurt dignity and cutting reproof, and certain loftiness of character is indicated, a loftiness which quite precludes Lord Grandison from condescending to quarrel with his step-father.

It is sad to have to record such an ending to the life story of the once beautiful and much sought-after Katherine, the finale of her life is an elaboration of the prophet's cry, *Vanity, Vanity, all is Vanity.*

Lord and Lady Grandison had several children, but only one son grew to manhood ; he was known as James Fitz Gerald, Viscount Villiers. He married Jane Butler, the daughter of an eminent conveyancer of London, and she subsequently married her first cousin by marriage, Lucius Charles, Sixth Viscount Falkland. Lord Villiers and his father evidently disagreed at times, which can be seen by the following letters, endorsed then by Lord Grandison :—



*Portrait at] JOHN EARL OF GRANDISON. [Dromana.*



“ MY LORD

“ It has been so great an uneasiness to me to be deprived of ye pleasure of paying my duty to your Lordship, that it obliged me to take this method to procure a reconciliation. For I do assure your Lordship that in what I have either said or done I had no ill meaning and if your Lordship has taken anything amiss that I have said or done I am sorry for it and therefore hope it will occasion no further difference between yr Lordship and

“ Your Most Dutyfull son  
“ VILLIERS.”

In these free and easy days the tone of distant respect in which even an erring son addressed his father seems curious to us.

The cause of quarrel was probably some youthful folly on which Lord Grandison laid, perhaps, too much stress, for being a man of strong character he may have allowed himself to become too severe and domineering a parent. His son evidently thought so, for he wrote some verses to this effect, which his father treasured, inscribing on the paper on which they are written, “ Verses wrott by my son in his mother’s dressing room.” These are the verses :—

“ On Natures Law Parents their power found  
Yet Nature to that power has set a bound  
Indulgence best does suit presiding care  
A Parent’s will should ne’er be too severe  
For they are least obeyed who rule by fear,  
And when unjust are ye commands they lay  
It is no crime if children disobey.”

We will presume these verses to have been written in

very early youth, and so forgive their shortcomings, as we will hope Lord Grandison forgave their author.

Lord Grandison underwent the great sorrow of seeing this would-be-poet son cut off in the flower of his youth, while he himself survived him many a long year. The event called forth the following very touching letter from a friend of the bereaved father, Lord Inchiquin.\* The letter was sent from London, and runs thus:—

“ **MY LORD**

“ It is very sincerely that I condole with your Lordship and my Lady Grandison upon the unexpected death of my Lord Villiers. Tho' the loss is the greatest that could happen to you or to your family yet your Lordships good sense and religion will call to your mind that as children are the gift of God, so they are also his to call for again wherein his infinite wisdome he shall so think fit and ordain, nothing but an absolute resignation to the decrees of Heaven that are not to be found fault with, can give your Lordship and my lady any relief to your griefs, that God may strenthen you both in this your great affliction is the sincere prayers of my Lord your Lordships

“ Most affectionate and obed humble servant  
“ **INCHIQUIN.**”

I fear this letter, like most letters of condolence, did little to assuage the grief of the Grandisons, in spite of its kindly, well-meant sympathy.

\* William, Fourth Earl of Inchiquin, ancestor of the existing family, the head of which bears the title of Baron Inchiquin.

A certain amount of intercourse was evidently kept up between Lord Grandison and the sons of his sister, Harriett Pitt, and he seems to have acted in some way as their trustee. It would not have been unnatural either for William Pitt to have consulted his uncle on Irish affairs, for though the over-worked statesman had but little leisure to devote to them, he did take a good deal of interest in that distressful country, partly, perhaps, because his mother was Irish. For instance when the Duke of Bedford was Viceroy, in 1759, and Irish politics became very involved, he sought council from Pitt, whose advice shows that if he had only been able to give more time and thought to Ireland, his powerful intellect would doubtless have found a way to solve many of her most pressing problems, and so perchance the ever to be deplored rebellion of '98 might have been averted. If, as I have surmised, letters passed between William Pitt and Lord Grandison they have not been forthcoming, which is unlucky as they would have been of much interest. A letter from the eldest brother, Thomas Pitt, afterwards Lord Camelford, has come to light, and though it is only about family affairs, it has its own small share of interest and so finds a place here. The writer has been mentioned before in these pages, for he is the Tommy of whom his grandfather "Diamond" Pitt says, as may be remembered in one of his letters to Katherine, that he goes on bravely at Eaton." The letter is addressed to Lord Grandison and begins thus :—

" London Feb 6th 1735,

" MY LORD

" I have wrote two or three letters to your Lordship and having received no answer especially to one wrote to you about a twelvemonth ago is the reason of my troubling your Lordship with this, to renew a question concerning the papers relating to my Father's personall estate wh were in yr Ld<sup>p</sup> custody as appears by the schedule wh yr Ld sent me yr Ld<sup>p</sup> may remember they were contained in four boxes viz No 1, 2, 3, 4, yr Ld<sup>p</sup> sent me the boxes of the three last numbers as also the schedule now the favour I beg of Y<sup>r</sup> Ld<sup>p</sup> is to tell me in whose custody you left the box No. 1, wh your Ld<sup>p</sup> kept saying the papers were contained that related to the trust and to send me an order to see what papers are in that box, for some writings wh are missing sh, by the schedule be in that box. I need say nothing to induce yr Ld<sup>p</sup> to comply with my request the reasonableness and justice of it is very evident, and I am sure it will forward the settling of affairs very much, a thing very much to be desired on all hands, I hope y<sup>r</sup> Ld<sup>p</sup> and my Lady and all yr family are well to whom I desire my compliments and hope to have yr Ld<sup>p</sup>'s answer soon wh will very much oblige

" Yr Ld<sup>ships</sup>

" humble serv<sup>t</sup> and nephew

" T. Pitt."

Our attention is arrested by these two brothers, Thomas and William Pitt, if only by the atmosphere of picturesque

romance which surrounded them. Even before they were born, Fate was planning the turn of events which was to have such a beneficial effect on their fortunes, for their grandfather by the lucky purchase, and still luckier sale, of the then largest known diamond in the world was enabled to raise his family from the commonplace level of the merely comfortably circumstanced English county family, to one of great political influence. In those days the possession of wealth made it possible to obtain political power by the direct open method then so common, and to carry out his purpose "Diamond" Pitt purchased the burgage tenures of Old Sarum, which was thus destined to become famous as represented by William Pitt a hundred years before it became notorious as the typical "rotten borough" in the debates of the first Reform Bill. At the general election of 1734, Thomas Pitt (his father and grandfather both having died) was returned for both Oakhampton and Old Sarum, but as he preferred to sit for the former, the family borough fell to his younger brother William by the sort of natural right usually recognised in such cases. From this time forward William's political success was assured, but being only a younger son his means were very limited, but once more a kindly Fate interposed on his behalf, for in 1744, the Duchess of Marlborough died and left him £10,000 as an acknowledgment of the noble defence he had made for the support of the laws of England. A certain gentleman, a Sir William Pynsent, also left him a considerable fortune as an admiring tribute to his political abilities. In 1754 he married Lady Hester Grenville, and the second

son of the marriage, another William Pitt, became even a greater man than his father, who had the joy of living to see him rise high in the estimation of the world and in political life. One of Chatham's biographers gives us this telling glimpse of his personality and powers of oratory — “He had all the natural gifts of an orator,” he writes, “a commanding presence, a graceful if somewhat theatrical bearing, an eye of piercing brightness, a voice of utmost flexibility. His style was elevated and passionate, and it always bore the impress of that intensity of conviction which is the most powerful instrument a speaker can have to sway the convictions of his audience.” If, as it has been affirmed, his bearing was theatrical, the closing scene of his life was at any rate exceedingly dramatic, falling in his death swoon as he did in the House of Lords, trying with his last breath to prevent England from making her colossal blunder in her policy with regard to the American Colonies. He was given a state funeral in Westminister Abbey, where, says one writer, “he sleeps near the northern doors of the Church, in a spot which has ever since been appropriated to statesmen, as the other end of the same transept has long been to poets—Mansfield rests there, and the second William Pitt and Fox and Grattan and Canning and Wilberforce. In no other cemetery do so many great citizens lie within so narrow a space.” Chatham was not the first of his family to find a last resting place in Westminister Abbey, his mother’s mother had been buried there, and his mother’s great grandfather, Sir George Villiers, the father of Sir Edward Villiers, the

Governor of Munster, and of George, Duke of Buckingham.\*

I fear this is somewhat the nature of a digression, as the Pitts are but indirectly connected with this Chronicle. The tempting nature of the subject must be its excuse.

Lord Grandison must have carried on a voluminous correspondence with a variety of people if we are to judge by the number of letters still in existence that are endorsed and dated by him. Many of them are of no interest whatever, but among the few I have thought good to publish is one from the Earl of Barrymore. The writer is an ancestor of the present holder of the title, and a member of a very interesting family who figured prominently for generations in Irish history.

The letter, which touches on the topics of the day as well as on private matters, runs thus :—

\* Lord Chatham's sister Elizabeth, the "brave, bouncing girl," whose advent into the world "Diamond Pitt," her grandfather, announced to Katherine Fitzgerald in one of his letters, seems to have been anything but an admirable character, and she had evidently quite a different nature from her mother Harriette. Horace Walpole mentions her in a letter, written in January, 1757, in which he says—"Miss Elizabeth Villiers Pitt is in England the only public place in which she has been seen is the Popish Chapel: her only exploit endeavours to wreck her malice on her brother William whose kindness to her has been excessive. She applies to all his enemies and as Mr. Fox told me gone so far as to send a bundle of his letters to the author of the *Test* to prove that Mr. Pitt had cheated her as she calls it of £100 a year and which only proves that he allowed her two and after all her wickedness still allows her one. How she must be vexed that she has no way of setting the Government against him." In a note of explanation we are told that Elizabeth Pitt, sister of the famous Lord Chatham, "had been maid of honour to Augusta Princess of Wales then lived openly with Lord Talbot as his mistress, went to Italy turned Catholic and married came back wrote against her brother and a trifling pamphlet recommending magazines of corn."

" \* Castle Lyons Jan 13th 1734

" MY LORD

" I design'd a much earlier inquiry how my Lady, Lady Betty your Lord<sup>sp</sup> and Lord Villiers doe since you gott home, but yt the weather was toe horrible that there was noe stirring out off doers I had hopes off paying ye complement in person but the frost and snow prevented it and now depart to Bandon sessions but hope for that honour before I goe to Dublin.

" The enclos'd I gott last week, by which yr Lords<sup>p</sup> will perceive why the houses satt so longe and the practises that have been made use off to make a breach which iff rightly manag'd may hurt the court interests much more than they imagine, I fancy our friends will be very sealous on that occasion.

" What is mentioned in your letter about the test is I believe true and what the ministers will never forgive these people the repeal of yt here, was assured to the Dissenters in England and 'tis on that score that they promised to joyne the Court interest through England.

" Your Lord<sup>p</sup> will perceive L<sup>d</sup> Athanry in greate concern the thing was imprudent and done I really believe without thought but as to ye concern I acquit him.

" L Mountcashell and Mr Skiffington desire my

\* Castle Lyons was the family seat of the Barymores. The ruins of the castle may still be seen. They are adjacent to Fota, the residence of the present Lord Barrymore.

Lady yr Lord<sup>sp</sup> and Lady Betty to accept of their humble service. I desire mine may goe too and to Ld Villiers. You had a wretch'd journey but I hope noe bad accidents. I obey'd yr directions as far as I was able when you have read the letters return them by the bearer. Our S——is a pritty fellow I never had any opinion off him after his expression off the Dukes Magnificence.

“ I am with much truth

“ My Lord

“ Yr Lordship's most Faithfull Humble

“ BARRYMORE.”

The matter of the Test spoken in the above, refers to an attempt made by Walpole in 1733 to repeal the Test Act in Ireland and free the Presbyterians in that country from the odious and unfair restrictions under which they had laboured so long. However, the measure was not successful owing to the violent storm of opposition it provoked in the Dublin parliament, and though the lot of the Presbyterians was thereby somewhat ameliorated the Test Act itself was not finally repealed till 1788.

Lord Barrymore's observation that “our S—— is a pritty fellow,” refers, of course, to George II. He was particularly unpopular in Ireland, and this bit of sarcasm was drawn forth, perhaps, by the fact that at the date the letter was written the English charge for pensions on the Irish Establishment amounted to £69,000, and the kind of person who profited by these pensions were the Duchess of Kendal and Sophia Kielmansacke, and it

was on such like favourites of the King and others of the same calibre that a sixth of the Irish revenue was, says Froude, "scandalously squandered."

Lord Barrymore, whose home at Castle Lyons was only about thirty miles distant from Dromana, was evidently an intimate friend of the Grandison family, and the intercourse between the two families was kept up between later generations. One Earl of Barrymore, while paying a visit to Dromana, lost a great deal of money at cards, and shot himself in a room in the old tower. His ghost still haunts the room, and has been seen by various people. The Barrymores were a very wild family, and the record left behind by some of its members is far from creditable. In 1729 a certain Lady Margaret Crosbie, sister to the Lord Barrymore who wrote the above letter, was the heroine of a particularly scandalous story. It appears that a Danish ship laden with chests of silver bullion was wrecked near her husband's house in Kerry, and he extended hospitality to the crew and their treasure. Mr. Crosbie died shortly after their advent, and his widow aided and abetted her Kerry neighbours (some of whom were people of high degree) to attack the house, and seize the treasure, a fourth part of which was given to Lady Margaret as her share of the plunder. The curious part of the story is that though an enquiry was set on foot by the authorities, the treasure was never recovered and no one was ever punished for the theft. So much for Irish justice in those days.

The Lady Betty to whom Lord Barrymore sends such

polite messages was Lord Grandison's much treasured eldest daughter. She was at this time unmarried, though not because she lacked suitors, and here is a letter from the Earl of Kildare to prove that she was a young lady much in request. On an unused portion of the page in which the letter is written Lord Grandison has made this memorandum—"L<sup>d</sup> Kildare sending itt with a proposall for L<sup>d</sup> Masareens son for my daughter Betty with my answer." But the copy of the answer is not to be found, Lord Kildare's letter begins thus:—

" MY LORD

" The great regard I have for your Ldship and all yr family has at ye desire of my Lord Massereen whom I'me ever pleased to obey I undertake what I'me very sensible not to be equal to. Ye greate and good carater Lady Betty Villiers so justly has encurrages my Lord to offer his son as Husband for her Lay<sup>sp</sup> if yr Ld<sup>sp</sup> be under noe engagement before he'd be extreemly proud to treat with you on ye subject and I very desirous to bring about so good an undertaking.

" Thers 4000 pounds per annum settl'd on ye young gentleman now to my knowledge, he's all ye good qualities any one can name, so much that I wish either of my daughters were of an age for him. I should think them well disposed of with as much fortune as he wants.

" Lord Massereen has four younger sons and two daughters therefore cant afford to dispose of his sone

without a considerable fortune which I have bine told yr Ld<sup>sp</sup> always intends Lady Betty.

"I fear I have bine too free on ye subject, but I hope you'l excuse it, it proseeds from ye love and kindness I have for Mr. Skeffington and desire to see him happy dispos'd of to so valuable a young Lady whom I dare say will make each other so.

"If I'me so unhappy as to propose w<sup>ht</sup> not agreeable to yr Ld<sup>p</sup> or that you have any other thoughts I hope this will never goe farder, but must very impatiently waite yr answer and hope you esteame me amongst

" My Lord

" Yr Lordships

"most obedant most humble servt

" KILDARE.

"I bege my compliments to my Lady Grandison and with yr Ld<sup>ps</sup> leave to Ly- Betty and Ld Villiers."

One is quite sorry to have to record that this kind-hearted old matchmaker failed in his embassy. Mr. Skeffington is the same individual who sent his humble service to the Dromana family through Lord Barrymore. He was evidently not pleasing in the eyes of Lady Betty, who perhaps even then had set her affections on the man she afterwards married. This man was Allan Mason, a neighbour in the Co. Waterford, and though a man of means his family was not of distinguished extraction. Lord Kildare's letter was written in 1735, but it was not till 1738 that negotiations were set on foot to arrange Lady Betty's marriage with Mr. Mason.

The following extracts from a letter sent to Mr. Mason by his cousin, Mr. Alcock, describing his meeting with the bride-elect is full of the flavour of eighteenth century life, and gives one an interesting though perhaps exaggerated account of Lady Betty's charms. The letter runs thus :—

"DEAR COUSIN,—I thank you for the favour of yours of the 10th, and in return give you the joy to hear that I spent last fryday most to my satisfaction and delight than ever I spent a day before. I paid a visit to Dromana where my reception soon assured me that all matters were as we could wish, though I was ignorant of what had passed between you till Lord Grandison himself informed me of it. Lord Grandison was abroad when we arrived here, so Mr. Gervais and I walked round the gardens which are to my mind ravishingly delightful, when my L<sup>d</sup> came home he was informed of his guests, and imediately came to us. He upbraided me that I had been so long in the country without seeing him, and assured me he would never forgive me if I had quitted it without giving him some of my company." After detailing some further conversation, the writer describes how they went into dinner. "Lady Grandison," he says, "came first, and the lovely daughter follow'd blushing like the morning. She looked like Eve when Adam led her to the nuptial Bower, oh happy youth cry'd I that is born to possess so much modesty, her gentle carriage, her obliging manners, her innocent confusion when she caught my eyes afeasting upon hers, have filled me with every passion that is consistant with

your happiness, if you had seen her when my Lord toasted "our Waterford friend" you would have signed a carte blanche. We sat above an hour together after Dinner, the Ladies retired, but we would not stay long behind but quickly followed them to tea. After tea my Lady Grandison, who is the most accomplished woman in the world, proposed several schemes to entertain me and among the rest to have her Daughter play on the Harpsicord, we all agreed and I sat an hour and half without thinking I had past ten minutes, her playing is extreamly agreeable, but she is indeed mistress of every perfection what need I repeat her behaviour at quadrille and at supper, I will not make you too happy for your cruel treatment of me in your last. After the ladies retired Lord Grandison soon informed me that all matters were in so fair a way of being happily concluded on, that he looked upon the affair as finished, that he soon expected you for that purpose, this was the first hint he gave me of what I was bursting to know. I heartily thanked God for it and concluded you to be the happiest of men. On that occasion I stretched as far as your modesty and my sincerity would bare to paint you. My L<sup>d</sup> expressed the greatest satisfaction at everything, say'd he had always a great honour for our family and that it was a great inducement to him to see his daughter settled with so virtuous and worthy a young man, and seemed to reflect with great pleasure that he had not a Lord Antrim and many more that he said he was sorry he could name among the nobility for his son-in-law. He called to me for a toast. I proposed success

and happiness to you and Lady Betty which he agreed to with all his heart and soul."

Truly, this was a letter to delight a lover's heart.

We get a glimpse of the way marriage settlements were then conducted from the following quaint, oddly-spelt letter on the subject sent to Lord Grandison by his confidential man of business. It is addressed from Dublin, and dated Feb. 3rd, 1738, and it commences :—

" MY LORD

" I recd yr Lodp<sup>s</sup> favour and this day delivered yr letter to Mr. Mason on which we talked over the thing—he puts a great stress on the largeness of his nephews fortune and as 8,000 is to be added to the Lady's fortune and none of hers called in now for his immediate use he thinks it reasonable by will or deed to charge 8,000 as he has it now in his pockett, he assured me that his nephew could get twice the sum yr Ld<sup>p</sup> proposed. At the same time he expressed great willingness to deal in yr family with many civil things but insists he shall have the power over the 8,000 and adds that sure if his children please him noo danger can be that he will leave from them or incumber his heir if deserving. I was very cautious in saying much but mentioned yr family and the great prospects of my lady Bettie and her issue on wch wee parted, he sayed he would answ<sup>r</sup> yr letter this post or the next. Since yr Ld<sup>p</sup> likes the prospects and that he has now 8,000 to joyne to the fortune 5 or 6 more as Mr Mason says in his pockett

I really think considering his fortune wch his uncle says is about 25,000 pound yr Ld<sup>P</sup> should not brake off on that objection for it is not easy to meet w<sup>th</sup> such a fortune, so much money now, of wch yr L<sup>P</sup> is a good judge and w<sup>ch</sup> I begg to submitt to yr own consideration, but as yr Ld has but the two (God bless them) the sooner they are matched the better and I find on a close discourse that the resen of his declining was only imagined by some of the young attorneys of Waterford who think that the gent has fortune enough for a princess on wch theyre opinion was grounded and not on anything from the family. In the name of God proceed if no other objection than the power of the 8,000."

This shrewd man of business, Kennedy by name, was, as may be seen, very anxious that the marriage should take place as Lady Betty was no longer so young as she once was, and he evidently feared that her case might be the same as that of the "Old Maids of Lee," who found that the rich young lord was not rich enough and one suitor too short, and one too tall, so that in the end they never married anyone. It was the same far-seeing Kennedy who suggested to Lord Grandison on another occasion, that as the young ladies had not married into the peerage they might now be content with gentlemen of parts whom he offered to supply! When he hints at "the great prospects of my Lady Bettye and her issue," he refers to the fact that she would one day probably be the heiress of Dromana. Her brother had left behind him a little girl, Mary, who would, in the natural course

of events, if she lived, become her grandfather's heiress ; however, her life was a frail one, and by her death a short time after the foregoing letter was written, her Aunt Lady Betty did actually become the heiress apparent of Dromana. Tradition says that the little Mary came by her death through having her waist too tightly laced to improve her appearance when her portrait was painted, and that she died of the effects. The portrait, which may still be seen at Dromana, represents a pretty, fascinating little girl and true enough she has a very tiny waist.

We gain some glimpses of the doings of the Grandison family during the next twenty years from the delightful gossipy correspondence which was kept up between Mrs. Delaney and her friends and relations, and published after the writer's death. Mrs. Delaney was a cousin of Lord Grandison's, and though she writes about a variety of people, famous and otherwise, she makes a special mention of her Grandison cousins for the most part in the letter she wrote to her sister, Mrs. Dewes. Here are extracts from four different letters written by Mrs. Delaney to Mrs. Dewes. They are all addressed from Delville the former's home near Dublin. The first letter from which these extracts are taken is dated 15th Oct., 1745. "Last Friday was the King's coronation," she writes ; "I went to the castle morning and night. There was a ball but no good dancing. Mr<sup>s</sup> Chevenix, the Bishop of Killadoe's wife and I have agreed to go to the Birthday in Irish stuffs, Lady Grandison and Lady Betty Mason are come to Dublin which I am very glad of, it is a great pleasure to meet with an old acquaintance, Lady Grandison is an

agreeable woman and was always very obliging to me."

On the 11th January, 1745-6, Mrs. Delaney again makes mention of the Grandisons. "Last Tuesday," she writes, "we dined at Lord Grandison's. Lady Betty Mason has lost her third child, and has now only a little boy four months old."

On the 5th of April, in the same year, Mrs. Delaney writes that "Lady Betty Mason is made Viscountess Grandison in her own right," then she adds—"They all dine here on Monday." Lord Grandison, I suppose, had friends in high places who sympathised with him on the loss of his son and heir, and on the sorrow he was bound to feel at the prospect of seeing his historic title die out, so they contrived to have the title of Viscountess conferred on his daughter. Later on Lady Betty was created Countess of Grandison in her own right.

In June, 1750, Mrs. Delaney tells her sister that on last Thursday "the Earl and Countess of Grandison, the Countess of Kerry, Viscountess Grandison, and Mr. Mason dined here; my house and garden very spruce to receive them and they were very civil in commending everything; the lady is near lying in; I hope she will have a child that will live, she has hitherto been very unfortunate; they staid here till near nine."

In a letter to Bernard Granville, dated July 15th, 1750, Mrs. Delaney mentions that Lady Grandison was "brought to bed the day before yesterday of a son—great joy, I hope it will live it is the 5th child and none alive." In the December of the same year Mrs. Delaney

writes that “last Monday we dined by invitation at Lord Grandison’s they are in high joy and spirits. The little Mason is a fine thriving child, and I hope will live.”

There is a mention of Lady Betty in the description of the triumphs of the celebrated actress \* Peg Woffington in the play called “The Provoked Husband,” which was produced in Dublin in the autumn of 1751. Peg Woffington took the part of Lady Townley, and she was supported by Sheridan, Theophilus Cibber, Digges, King, Mrs. Bland and Miss Davies. On the evening in question the Smock Ally play house we read “had never presented a more brilliant appearance. In the centre of the horse-shoe shaped arena, illuminated with wax in honour of their Graces, sat my Lord Mayor, wearing his scarlet cloak and chain of office, and beside him his lady, plump as became the spouse of such a dignitary, and attired in green satin as behoved her patriotic spirit, and in the boxes all round what an array of beauty and fashion, what a glitter of diamonds and precious stones, what a sheen of satin and silks, what a waving of feathered head dresses and perfumed fans, what a gleaming of white shoulders and bosoms rising from billows of lace ! Near their Grace’s box sat my Lady Gormanstonn, a rare beauty, with dark blue eyes and hair that looked black as the raven’s wing by night, and with her my Lord, who invariably dressed in a full suit of light blue. Close beside them was Lord Trimlestown in scarlet clothes, gold frogged, and a full powdered wig, and where the soft light fell full on her box sat Viscountess Grandison, a

\* See the Life and Adventures of Peg Woffington by Molloy.”

lily-fair beauty, with eyes of the tenderest blue and smooth hair the colour of dead gold." It must, indeed, have been a scene of rare brilliancy, and the wish springs up in one's heart that the men of to-day would discard their sombre garments in favour of "scarlet clothe gold frogged," or suits of light blue. If the condition of Ireland as a whole was not all that could be desired, Dublin, at any rate, at this time seems to have been gay beyond words, and Peg Woffington's chronicler tells us that the autumn season she spent in Dublin was particularly noted for its splendour. "Parliament," he says, "was opened in October with great ceremony by the new Lord Lieutenant (the Duke of Dorset), as representing his Most Gracious Majesty King George; the coach in which he rode to College Green being most superb and seeming all glass and gold. Moreover, it was drawn by six horses, magnificently caparisoned, and by the traces stood six tiny pages, attired in the splendour of crimson velvet and gold lace, with feathered hats upon curled heads and swords by their little thighs. Then on either side of this great glass coach, walked the gentlemen of the ducal retinue, in full dress, with their hats under their arms, the whole presenting a prodigiously fine show. A vast number of persons of distinction flocked from England in the wake of the Viceroy, and most of the Irish county families settled in the capital for the winter." Though much of Dublin's gaiety centred round the ducal Viceroy and his magnificent entourage, "it was not only at the Castle," the same writer continues, "that great receptions were held and lively balls given. The stately

and magnificent mansions of the nobility, faced with sparkling granite, native to the Wicklow hills, and adorned by the genius of foreign artists, which retain traces of their beauty to the present day, though converted into schools or let in tenements, were in those times the scenes of constant revelry." Then he specially mentions that "my Lord Grandison delighted in assembling the wit and beauty of the Capital round a board heavy from the weight of golden candelabra and services of silver."

The Grandison family were back at Dromana by the following autumn, for Doctor Pococke mentions in the book he wrote describing his Irish tour, that he paid them a visit in the August of 1752. Dr. Pococke, who was a traveller and something of a naturalist, writes :—

" I crossed the Blackwater to Drumanna to the Earl of Grandison's, situated on a rock over the Blackwater, where there was formerly a Castle, the hanging ground and wood on it to the south of it is beautifully laid out in terraces, slopes and walks down to the river which is navigable to Cappoquin, and the tyde goes up near Lismore. There is a handsome avenue to Dromanna house from the east, to the north of which is first a wood and several pieces of water, then a park and fine enclosure down to the Phinisk, which is the bounds between this estate and Affane, to the south is a new planted wood of many sorts of trees, with firs on each side of the ridings and near the house is a Green on one side of which my Lord has built seven houses, that in the middle is a handsome edifice for an inn. I went with Lord

Grandison in his chaise half a mile to see a new town he has built called Villiers Town, the design is two streets crossing each other with a square in the middle for a market and chapel. There are 24 houses built with a garden to each of them his Lordship is bringing in about eighty acres of land at great expense for pasturage for the town for as they are all linen weavers they are not to be diverted by farming. My Lord settles a curate here and intends to build a chapel. This chapel is since built. I walked in the afternoon about the garden improvements and went to see the houses on the green. On the 1st of September I took leave of the Earl and Countess for so that Lady is distinguished, the daughter being made Viscountess Grandison by Patent to descend to her heirs male and is married to a Mr. Mason." He mentions later that a few miles from Dromana at a place called Whitechurch there were found the horns and most of the bones of a mouse deer or Elk which he says "I saw at the Earl of Grandison's. A rib also was found a mile from Whitechurch thought to be of an elephant, but possibly might be the rib of a whale." Dr. Pococke's description of Dromana much resembles that of Carlyle, though about a hundred years intervene between the period of their respective visits.

Lord Grandison evidently took a great pride in beautifying Dromana, for we read in Smith's History of Waterford (published in 1746) that he "obtained from the Dublin Society the Premium of £50 for planting out the greatest number of timber trees. Between December, 1742, and March, 1744, he planted 63,480 trees of

oak, ash, chestnut, elm and beech, which Premium his Lordship generously gave to the person employed by him in his plantations."

In 1755 Lady Betty wrote the following letter to her 1755 father, which begins thus without ceremony :—

" I was yesterday favoured with my dear father's letter of the 31st of last month and am greatly pleased to find that 'tis the desire of us all to live for the future in the greatest friendship and affection. I will answer for it that 'tis what Mr. Mason and I ever wish. All the people in Dublin are greatly concerned for the disappointment under General Braddock,\* and wait with impatience for good news from America to counterbalance his defeat.

" I hear the Duchess of Hamilton (one of the beautiful Gunningns) excede Lady Kildare and all other Beauties greatly and her beheaviour is as much admired as her person, the commonality follow her here as much as they did in London, when Miss Gunning—the Duke and she has high compliments made them, by all the great people in or about Dublin.

" Mr. Grogan is just arrived from London did us the honour to dine with us yesterday, proposes writing to my mother when he is recovered the fatigue of his journey on the subject of two delicate pieces of silk wh he has brought over for her to admire and purchase, all his news

\* General Braddock was sent by the Government to the aid of the English colonists in America in 1754, when hostilities broke out between them and the French settlers. He was, however, defeated and killed.

is that my Aunt Stewart is at Bath and very well—you will let my mother know that Dempsey has been very busy for these five or six weeks past in Pickling and Preserving. Mr. Mason wrote to you some time ago at her desire to know from my mother, whether they had made Ketchup at Dromana, as mushroom were very scarce and dear here, but had no answer from you on that head.

“ Thank God George (her only surviving child who was afterwards 2nd Earl of Grandison) is very well and bathes at home every day, as the weather is so bad and the distance so great from the sea. Mr. Mason desires to joyn with me in duty to you and my mother.

“ I am my dear Father

“ Your ever affectionate

“ dutyfull Daughter

“ E. GRANDISON.

“ Newburgh ye 4th Sept 1755.

“ P.S. Dempsey wood be glad if half a dozen small mellons not ripe for Pickling wh you may send with the venison wh we shall be very glad of.”

This letter, with its mention of Miss Gunning and the gossip of the day, is not without its interest. Lady Betty must have been on terms of great affection and confidence with the father, and the precious child George was evidently a great bond of union. His health seems always to have caused some anxiety, and Mrs. Delaney, writing from London, in June, 1756, tells her sister that Mr. Mason had written to her husband “ to borrow Delville for the summer as bathing in the sea is necessary

for their son and they could get no house that would answer their purpose. As humanity was in the case," she adds, "it could not be refused but could only be granted for a short space, which is the latter end of June and they are now I suppose in possession. I hope the boy wont break and rifle my shell cabinet ! I have taken the liberty to order it to be constantly covered." George was evidently looked upon as an "enfant terrible" by his relations.

In 1759, Lady Betty's husband died, and Mrs. Delaney vivaciously describes to her sister how she went to pay a visit of condolence to "our cousin Grandison who," she says, "reproached me with neglect. I thought it would have been a melancholy visit (as Mr. Mason and the Viscountess were seemingly very fond), so I stepped softly into the room, found only Lord Grandison and his lady together, talked of the great loss of Mr. Mason, dead just *one month* asked if I might see the Dowager. The door was opened into the room where she sat, I saw a glimmering light and expected to see a dejected figure by dim taper's light—when behold ! she was sitting at a card table playing at cribbage ; but she looked melancholy and I believe is sorry. I cannot think it right in her friends about her to make her do what in truth has a very indecent appearance, but cards are now the nostrum to drive away all sorrow." Lady Betty may have felt sad, but she was not inconsolable for she afterwards married again.

I presume that after her first husband's death, Lady Betty found her son too difficult to manage without the assistance of one of the sterner sex, and so decided to

have a tutor. Mrs. Delaney thus relates to her sister how Lady Betty consulted her on the subject—"Lady Grandison," she writes, "askes me if D D (her husband Dr. Delaney, who was a friend of Dean Swifte), or I could recommend a tutor; they seem indifferent about him being a clergyman or not, but he must I suppose be a tolerable scholar and quite under the mother's directions, and she will allow £70 or £80 a year. Could Mr. Falwood undertake such an office." In January, 1760, Mrs. Delaney again addresses her sister on the same subject. "Mr. Sandford," she says, "seems inclined to undertake our young cousin and has taken it into consideration if Lady Grandison can be prevailed on to make the situation as desirable really, as it appears to be, but if he is to be the slave of a silly woman and a teasing child and not allowed a proper authority it could be insupportable to one of his delicacy in mind and body, for his health is very indifferent. Master Villiers is between nine and ten years of age; not a dull boy, but humoured to the last degree. He will be Earl of Grandison after his grandfather's and mother's death which is the reason he is called Villiers and not Mason."

There is the undeniable touch of the candid relation about these remarks, and alas! a good deal of truth, for "Master Villiers" developed into an extravagant and self-indulgent man, and gambled away much of the patrimony left him by his mother and grandfather.

Though Lord Grandison was at this time well advanced in years, he was still hale and hearty, and continued to take an interest in all that went on around him.

He did not cease either from corresponding with his many friends, one of the most valued of them being his distinguished kinsman, Lord Hyde.

I give here a letter written by Lord Hyde to Lord Grandison, soon after the accession of George III., which shows on what friendly terms they were.

The letter runs thus:—

"MY LORD                  "Duke Street St James's 1760.

"Your Lordships most obliging readiness to be sponsor to our last child makes me presume to beg that honour for an only daughter that my Wife brought forth yesterday. It may be a great advantage to her to have an Example of Virtue and Honor in her mind, it will be our duty to inform her of its value. Were we likely to fail in the Performance of it, which certainly we are not, gratitude would help our sensibility. I wish I could atone for this liberty by anything worthy your Lordships attention, but there is nothing new but what is public. Everybody expresses the greatest Hopes from the promising Virtue on the Throne. Nobody openly complains of the present ministerial arrangement. I, tho' no ways considered in it, most sincerely wish it may last us long as it tends to the benefit of both Nations and it probably will for some months. The desire of Peace is very strong among those who pay and feel the Taxes. The Placemen and Citizens seem rather to have more exalted ideas. I am afraid more Blood and money must be spent before the directors of Europe can fix on means of Peace to satisfy their constituents.

"I beg my respects to the Countess and Viscountess of Grandison and to Master Mason and that your Lordship will believe to be, as I am with the highest regard and esteem.

" My Lord

" Your Lordships

" most obedient humble servant

" HYDE." \*

This is an interesting letter from an interesting man, and it is a happy thing that it should have been preserved. No doubt Lord Grandison felt very gratified at being asked to be godfather to two different members of Lord Hyde's family, but one feels that his age hardly warranted him accepting a responsibility he could not hope to live long enough to fulfil. Neither did he, for he died about six years later, respected by all and much lamented by the peasants, for whom he had done so many kind acts. His memory is still revered by the descendants of these very people he benefited, and among the labourers and villagers who live now near Dromana may be found some who yet speak of him as the "good Earl John." His great-great-grandson (grandfather to the writer) nobly carried on his work of bettering the condi-

\* Thomas Villiers, Lord Hyde, the founder of the existing family of Villiers, Earls of Clarendon, was the second son of the second Earl of Jersey. He was successively Ambassador to Dresden, Poland and Vienna, a Lord of the Admiralty, Joint Post-Master General, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Ambassador to Berlin. He was created Baron Hyde of Hindon in 1756, and Earl of Clarendon in 1776, and Baron Villiers (in the Kingdom of Poland) in 1782, which honour he received the royal license to enjoy. He died in 1786.

tion of the Irish poor, and it was not a little owing to his strenuous work in their cause that the Irish Catholics finally freed themselves from the penal laws that for generations had pressed so hardly upon them.\* Then, again, his son, Mr. Henry Villiers Stuart (the father of the writer) also sympathised with and practically aided the working classes, and the down trodden Fellaheen of the Egypt† of forty years ago, benefited equally with the Irish peasants in his energetic schemes and suggestions for the amelioration of their conditions. However, the history of these two owners of Dromana will I hope be recorded when this history is continued by some member of the family in a future generation, for it does not seem good to the writer that life stories should be made public before the curtain has rung down for a space on all the actors concerned in them. Therefore, because of this prejudice, these records about Dromana must perforce draw to a close. But they would be incomplete if George, second Earl of Grandison, and his daughter and sole heiress, the beautiful Lady Gertrude Villiers, failed to find mention here. There are also a few words to add about Lady Betty, who continued to live and enjoy herself for many years after her father's death. One would gather from Peg Woffington's biographer that she was as much sought after for her beauty as for her wealth, though her portrait at Dromana fails to make her beautiful. She doubtless had a fine presence, and her cousin, Mrs Delaney,

\* See "The Life of Daniel O'Connell"; also "Ireland Historical and Statistical" (page 437), by George Lewis Smyth.

† See Egypt After The War," by H. Villiers Stuart.

bears witness to this fact in a letter, written in January, 1771, to Mr. Port, of Ham, wherein she retails that "the Countess of Grandison, with her great hoop of beaten gold and jewels, made such a blaze in my little nest on her way to the drawing room as to amaze all beholders." About this time Lady Betty's son George, who now bore the title of Viscount Villiers (he did not come into his full title or the bulk of his property till his mother's death) fell a victim to the charms of Lady Gertrude Seymour, the third daughter of Francis, first Marquis of Hertford, and seriously thought of marriage. He had just returned from making the "grand tour," on which he had been sent like other young men of his day, but apparently his travels had not taught the young spend-thrift much wisdom.

Here are some extracts from Mrs. Delaney's gossiping letters bearing on his marriage and also on his extravagant tastes. In January 1772 Mrs. Delaney, writing in her usual outspoken way, mentions that "the Grandison wedding is to be the end of this month." As a matter of fact the wedding did not take place till two years later owing to money difficulties and illness. "Our young travelled cousin," continues Mrs. Delaney, "is a poor weak-looking soul set out furiously in jewels and other expenses, beyond the Mason finances and more wont come till the mother's death and she seems to be a much better life than her son's." Then again she writes "Notwithstanding the newspapers bestowing Lord Villiers on Lady H. Stanhope he is certainly to be married to Lady Gertrude Seymour and he will make her



LADY GERTRUDE SEYMOUR  
(VISCOUNTESS GRANDISON).

MOTHER OF GERTRUDE VILLIERS, HEIRESS OF DROMANA.



a *rock of diamonds* ; he has been confined with a boil which has delayed the wedding but his mistress attends his couch every day."

In September 1772, Mrs. Boscowen sent a letter to 1772 Mrs. Delaney containing the following exciting item of news. "Mr. Jenkinson is going to be married to Lady Elizabeth Parker, daughter to Lord Macclesfield ; that Lady T. Bunbury is to live with Sir Charles and meantime is at Holland House inoculating her child who grows very like Sir Charles. That Lord Villiers has spent all and Lady Grandison a good deal in his service. I suppose that cannot be literally true, though his Lordship is very ingenious in the art of wasting the most possible money in the least possible time " Poor Lord Villiers was certainly left but few shreds of character by these ladies and Mrs. Delaney in a letter to her favourite crony, Mrs. Port of Ham dated January, 1773, destroys any illusions which we might have been harbouring about the heir of Dromana. "The chief topick of conversation yesterday," she writes, "was Lord Villiers appearance in the morning at court in a pale purple velvet coat turned up with lemon colour and embroidered all over with Ss of pearls as big as pease and in all the spaces little medallions in beaten gold real solid in various figures of Cupids and the like, but it was only a fool's coat and so I leave it to tell you something better worth your attention."

In spite of the severity of these remarks on the defects of Lord Villiers' character, the beautiful lady who had attended his couch when he was afflicted with an unromantic complaint, was not deterred from marrying him,

and the wedding duly took place on the 10th of February, 1774. Let us hope, if Lady Gertrude found her husband was not all that could be desired, that at any rate her diamonds proved flawless. She was hardly the wife to help Lord Villiers to lead a better life or to make him cease from sowing wild oats. In fact they both set to work to sow wild oats, and as the bride was as much addicted to the gaming table as her husband, together they managed to squander large sums of money. There are still stories about the gay and reckless doings of the beautiful Lady Gertrude, "the toast of the town," as she was called in Dublin. For instance, it is said, that she used to sit up gambling all night till the dawn broke, and that she then used to pelt the crowd who had gathered under the windows with the empty wine bottles, the contents of which she and her friends had disposed of during the night. It has been whispered, too, that she at times assumed the dress of a gentleman of fashion, and thus disguised she appeared at various taverns and gaming houses, and successfully played the part of a young gallant. She had a short life, though a merry one, for she died about eight years after her marriage, leaving behind one child, a daughter, also named Gertrude. By a curious coincidence this daughter united in her person the two elder branches of the Villiers family that sprang from the good knight Sir Edward, the Governor of Munster, and Barbara, his wife.\*

George, 2nd and last Earl of Grandison, outlived his wife many years and died in 1800, leaving no male heir to inherit his title, which then passed to the Earls of



*Portrait at]*

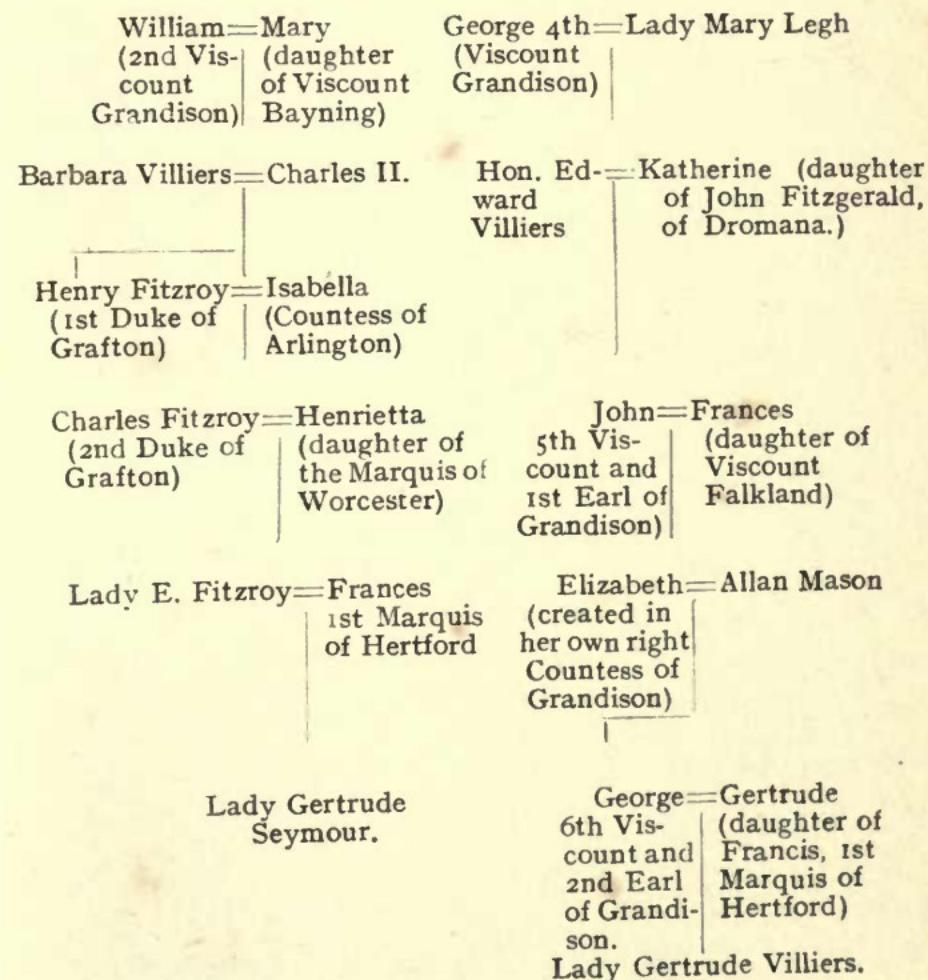
LADY GERTRUDE VILLIERS.

*Dromana*



Jersey, his kinsmen. There are letters extant, written by Lord Grandison from Buxton, where he used to go in the hopes of curing his gout, which quite crippled him at the end of his life. The letters are addressed to his agent at Dromana, asking always for money, more money.

\* Sir Edward Villiers—Barbara St. John.



Up to the last he continued to be dissipated and extravagant, an unworthy successor, indeed, to his upright, clean-living grandfather. His only child Gertrude inherited Dromana and all the money that had not been squandered by her reckless parents. Her mother bequeathed her much of her beauty but none of her wildness of character.

In 1802 Lady Gertrude married Lord Henry Stuart, 5th son of John, 1st Marquis of Bute, and they had several sons, the eldest of whom inherited Dromana and took the double name of Villiers-Stuart. He has already been referred to as having identified himself with the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Bill in 1826 (see page 206).

Lady Gertrude died in 1809 while still young. It is said that she died of a fever caught while nursing a poor old woman. A miniature of her, painted by Cosway, and her portrait, painted by both Romney and Wilkins, make us realize something of the charm and fascination of her personality. Her husband, Lord Henry, was entirely devoted to her, and the country people round Dromana still speak traditionally of the way he used to carry her across the boggy parts of the moor when she accompanied him on shooting expeditions. He died within a few days of his beautiful wife, a fate all true lovers might envy him.

Here my pleasant task comes to an end, and there remains nothing further to do but write the word "Finis," and hope that those of my readers who have followed me so far have been interested and sometimes diverted



Thérèse Muir Mackenzie



by this history. For those few people left over from a rapidly vanishing past, who still demand that a book should have a moral, let me ask them if there is not a fine moral to be deduced from the marked and steady progress the world has made during the last 500 years—a progress which even this slight sketch of history emphasises.

Human nature remains much the same as it was then, but surely our ideals burn brighter, clearer, steadier. Perhaps the frolics of the "Smart Set," it is so much the fashion to villify are not very far removed from the frolics and extravagance of Lady Gertrude Seymour and her friends, but there is little doubt that to day in every class an active sympathy for others, and a brotherly feeling for the suffering of our less fortunate neighbours is on the increase. And if retrogression must indeed "drag Evolution in the mud," yet the history of the past 500 years bids us all take heart and hope great things for the future of the human race.

PRINTED BY  
SEALY, BRYERS AND WALKER,  
MIDDLE ABBEY STREET,  
DUBLIN.







University of California  
SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY  
405 Hilgard Avenue, Los Angeles, CA 90024-1388  
Return this material to the library  
from which it was borrowed.

---

Biomedical Library  
OL JAN 23 1995  
DEC 14 1994

1145114

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY FACILITY



A 000 039 759 6

